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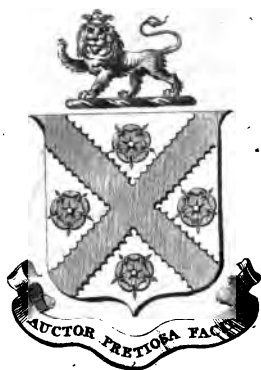
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James Lennox.

AN

(Melville, 1)

M' Crie

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LIFE
OF
ANDREW MELVILLE:

CONTAINING
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL
AND
LITERARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,
DURING THE
LATTER PART OF THE SIXTEENTH AND BEGINNING OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

By THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, EDINBURGH.

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UNPREMEDITATED in its origin, and harmless in its effects, as the uproar in Edinburgh was, it offered a pretext, which was eagerly laid hold of by the court, for commencing an attack on the government of the church. A tumult had taken place in the capital, which would necessarily make a noise through the kingdom. It would not be difficult to magnify it into a dangerous and designed rebellion, and to involve the ministers who were present on the occasion in the odium attached to that crime. This would enable the court to get rid of men who proved a disagreeable check on its proceedings; the severities used against them would strike terror into the minds of their brethren; and thus measures might be carried which otherwise would have met with a determined and successful resistance. Nothing could be more congenial to the character of James than this piece of Machiavellian policy, which had a shew of deep wisdom in the device, and required a very slender portion of courage in the execution.

To secure the success of his plan, he began by promoting a reconciliation between the two parties at court. He induced the Octavians to resign the invi-



dious office of managing the revenue, and the gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to join in punishing a riot which they had raised for the express purpose of driving their rivals from their places *. Having accomplished this object, the King hastily quitted the palace of Holyroodhouse. As soon as he was gone, a proclamation was issued, requiring all in public office to repair to him at Linlithgow, and commanding every person who had not his ordinary residence in the capital to leave it instantly. This was followed by severer proclamations. The ministers of Edinburgh, with a certain number of the citizens, were commanded to enter into ward in the castle; they were summoned before the Privy Council at Linlithgow to answer *super inquirendis*; and the magistrates were ordered to seize their persons. The tumult was declared to be "a cruel and barbarous attempt against his Majesty's royal person, his nobility, and council, at the instigation of certain seditious ministers and barons;" and all who had been accessory to it, or who should assist them, were declared to be liable to the penalties of treason. In the beginning of January, his Majesty, with great pomp and in a warlike attitude, returned to Edinburgh, where he held a convention at which these proclamations were ratified, and measures of a still stronger kind were taken. It was ordained, that the courts of justice should be removed to Perth; and that no meeting of general assembly, provin-

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 107. .

cial synod, or presbytery, should henceforth be held within the capital *.

A deputation from the town-council had waited on his Majesty at Linlithgow, to protest their innocence, and to implore forgiveness to the city for a tumult which had ended without bloodshed, and which they had done every thing in their power to suppress. Their supplication was rejected, and they heard nothing, while they remained at court, but denunciations of vengeance. They were told that the borderers would be brought in upon them—that their city

* “Comperit Georg Todrik one of the baillies of Edin^r with commissioners from the kinges Mat^{tie} and chargit the presbyterie in his Mat^{ties} name to depart outwith the boundis of the jurisdiction of Ed^r. The presbyterie for obedience to his Mat^{ties} lawis concludit to depart and to keip the presbyterie at Leyth.” (Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, 11^{mo} Jan^{ry} 1596.) “*Mr. Michael Cranstone*” was moderator of this meeting of presbytery, in the absence of Robert Bruce, the ordinary moderator, who had been obliged to abscond. This circumstance throws no small light on the motives of the King’s behaviour on the present occasion. Cranston was the minister who had read the story of Haman on the day of the tumult, and the only one whose behaviour had any tendency to inflame the minds of the people. He had been summoned, but was already received into favour; for if this had not been the case, the presbytery would not have thought of putting him into the chair at this time. It was not the conduct of the ministers on the 17th of December, it was the resistance which they had previously made to his measures, at which James was so much offended. Calderwood, in his account of what preceded the tumult, says, “*Mr. Michael Cranston, then a very forward minister, but now key-cold, readeth the history of Haman and Mordecai.*” (MS. vol. v. p. 129.)

The minutes of presbytery are dated “*Apud Leyth*” from Jan. 11, to the 8th of Feb. 1596; i. e. 1597, according to modern computation. After that they are dated “*At the Quenis-colledg.*” On the 9th of August, 1597, they begin to be dated “*Apud Ed^r.*”

would be razed to the ground and sowed with salt—and that a monument would be erected on the place where it stood to perpetuate the memory of such an execrable treason. Intimidated by these menaces, and distressed at the loss of the courts of justice, they came to the resolution of surrendering their political and religious rights. The magistrates, in the name of the community, subscribed a bond in which they engaged not to receive back their ministers without the express consent of his Majesty, and to give him for the future an absolute negative over the election of both magistrates and ministers. This pusillanimous and abject submission encouraged the court to treat them with still greater indignity. “The magistrates and body of the town” were declared to be “universally guilty of the odious and treasonable uproar committed against his Majesty.” And thirteen individuals, as representatives of the burgh, were ordered to enter into prison at Perth, and stand trial before the Court of Justiciary. One of the number, who had obtained a dispensation from his Majesty, being absent on the day appointed, a sentence of non-compearance was pronounced against the whole, the citizens were declared rebels, and the property of the town was confiscated. Being thus entirely at the royal mercy, the members of the town-council received his Majesty’s gracious pardon on their knees, after paying a fine, and giving a new bond, containing articles of submission still more humiliating than those which they had

already subscribed*. In the mean time, the court was unable, after the most rigid investigation, to discover a single respectable citizen who had taken part in the riot, or the slightest trace of a premeditated insurrection. When we consider the mixture of hypocrisy and tyranny which runs through these proceedings, it is impossible to read the remark with which Spotswood closes his account of the affair without derision. "Never," says the sycophantish prelate, "did any king, considering the offence, temper his authority with more grace and clemency than did his Majesty at this time; which the people did all acknowledge, ascribing their life and safety onely to his favour †."

While the court was breathing out threatenings against the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and particularly against its ministers, the latter were advised by their friends to withdraw and conceal themselves for a time ‡. As soon as it was known that they had taken this step, they were publicly denounced rebels. Great keenness was shown to find some evi-

* Register of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. x. f. 104—117. Record of Privy Council, from December 18, to March 21, 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 103—109, 114. Cald. v. 131, 137, 147, 151, 238. Spotswood, pp. 431—434, 444. Melville's Diary, pp. 288, 289.

† Spotswood's Hist. p. 444.

‡ Bruce and Balcanquhal went into England, Balfour and Watson concealed themselves in Fife. They wrote apologies for their conduct, in which they vindicated themselves from the aspersions thrown on them, and assigned reasons for their flight. The apology of the two former is inserted in Cald. v. 168—191. That of the two latter is inserted in Melville's Diary, pp. 280—288.

dence of their accession to the tumult; and when this failed, recourse was had to fabrication in order to criminate them. On the day that the King left Edinburgh with such marks of displeasure, the barons who remained behind met, and agreed to "take upon them the patrociny and mediation of the church and its cause;" and at their desire Bruce wrote a letter to Lord Hamilton, asking him to come and "countenance them in this matter against those councillors" who had inflamed his Majesty against them *. Hamilton having conveyed a copy of this letter to the King, some person about the court (for I do not believe that his lordship was capable of such a dishonourable act) altered it in such a manner as to make it express an approbation of the late tumult, and consequently an intention of embodying an armed resistance to the measures of government †. Conscious of the fraud

* According to Spotswood (Hist. p. 432.) the letter was signed by Bruce and Balcanquhal only; but the copy of it inserted by Calderwood has also the subscriptions of Rollock and Watson. (Vol. v. p. 132.)

† Both the genuine and the falsified copies of the letter are inserted by Calderwood. (MS. vol. v. p. 132, 133.) Speaking of the tumult, the former says, "The people, animated, as *affaires*, partly be the word and violence of the course, took armes, and made some commotion, fearing the invasion of us y^r ministers; but, be the grace of God, we repressed and pacified the motions incontinent." In the vitiated copy this is altered in the following manner: "The people animated, no doubt, be the word and *motion of God's spirit*, took arms;" and what was said of the ministers repressing the commotion is omitted. Spotswood, in his account of the letter, has followed the falsified copy, without so much as hinting that its genuineness was ever called in question; and at the same time that he quotes

which had been committed, the court did not dare to make any public use of the vitiated document; but it was circulated with great industry in private, with the view of blasting the reputation of Bruce and his friends.

Matters being thus prepared, a publication appeared in the name of the King, consisting of fifty-five questions. They were drawn up by Secretary

from a letter to Lord Hamilton, in which Bruce complains of the vitiation. (History, p. 432, compared with Cald. v. 150.) It is impossible to reprobate such conduct too severely, especially when it is considered that Spotswood had hitherto co-operated with his brethren. According to the accounts of different writers, he had evinced a more than ordinary zeal in forwarding their measures: he subscribed and promoted the subscription of Black's declinature; he called out his patron, Torphichen, to defend the ministers on the day of the tumult; and he transcribed Bruce's apology with his own hand, and had even given it a sharper edge. (Cald. MS. vol. v. p. 175. Printed History, p. 339. Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciæ: Altare Damasc. p. 753.) Archibald Simson (Annales MSS. p. 76.) agrees with Calderwood, and charges Spotswood with acting treacherously previously to the 17th of December, by informing the court of all that passed in the private meetings of the ministers. This last charge might however proceed from undue suspicion, But he appears to have declared for the court-measures soon after the tumult. I find the following references to him in the record of the presbytery of Edinburgh: "Maij iij 1596. Anent the desyre of M. Johnn Spottiswood craving that seing he was resident within the burgh, and was admitted to the ministerj, that thairfoire he myght be licentiat to exercise in this presbyterie. Quhais desyre being considerit, it is grantit."—"Apud Leyth xxv^o Jar^{iij} 1596. The exerceis made be M. William Birni, and additioun be M. Johnn Spottiswood. The text Exod. 16. beginnand at the 1st. to the 4. The doctrine judged, the hail brether were offended with the doctrine delivered be the said M. Johnn, refusait to let him mak the nixt day, and appointit M. Henrie Blyth to mak the exhortatioun the first of fear nixt." It is highly probable that Spotswood had given offence to the presbytery, by some allusions to the differences between the court and the church.

Lindsay, after the model of the questions which Archbishop Adamson had framed when the Second Book of Discipline was composed; and were intended, by bringing into dispute the principal heads of the established government of the church, to pave the way for the innovations which the court intended to introduce*. A Convention of Estates and a meeting of the General Assembly were called by royal authority, to be held at Perth in the end of February, to consider these questions. This measure had been previously resolved on, and the questions were prepared before the 17th of December; although the publication of them was deferred to this time †.

* "The Questions to be resolvit at the Convention of the Estaitis and Generall Assemblie, appointed to be at the Burgh of Perth the last day of Februarie next to come. Edinbvrgh Printed be Robert Waldegrae, Printer to the Kings Majestie. Anno Dom. 1597." 4to. Subscribed at the close "James R." In the College Library at Glasgow is a copy of this book, which appears to have belonged to Melville, and has on the margin, in his handwriting, short answers to some of the questions. They agree in general with the answers of the synod of Fife. Spotswood has inserted all the questions in his History (pp. 435—438.) Two slight inaccuracies in the 13th and 53d questions may be corrected by Printed Calderwood, (pp. 381—389,) where the address *To the Reader*, prefixed to the publication, will also be found.

† Calderwood has shown this from the minutes of the commissioners of the General Assembly, which he had in his possession. After referring to various minutes between the 11th of November and the 11th of December, he adds, "So that it is clear that the king intended before the 17th of December to work an alteration in discipline, and to sett the ministers on work to defend themselves that they might be diverted from persueing the excommunicated Earls, which was also the ground of calling Mr. David Black before the Counsell for speeches uttered three years before." (MS. Hist. v. 193—4.)

The leading ministers throughout the kingdom prepared for a vigorous defence of the established discipline. Though grieved at the advantage which the court had gained by the late occurrence in the capital, they did not suffer themselves to fall under an unmanly dread of its menaces. The presbytery of Haddington suspended one of their members for agreeing, without their consent, to an arrangement of the Privy Council for supplying the pulpits of Edinburgh *. The synod of Lothian virtually approved of the conduct of that presbytery, and testified their dissatisfaction at his Majesty's proposing that they should advise the infliction of censure on their brethren who had fled †. Notwithstanding the royal threat, that those ministers who refused subscription to the lately-imposed bond should not have their *pensions*, (as James insultingly called their stipends,) not an individual of any note could be induced to subscribe; and papers were circulated, in which the bond was commented on with becoming freedom, and shown to be ambiguous and ensnaring ‡. One of these papers, which is written with

* Record of Presb. of Haddington, Dec. 29, Jan. 12, and Feb. 9, 1596.

† Instructions to Mr. John Preston, Mr. Edw. Bruce, and Mr. Wm. Oliphant, commissioners for the K. of Sc. to the Synod of Lothian, to be convened at Leith, Feb. 1, 1596. (Cotton MSS. Calig. B. ii. 97.) This paper contains also the answers which the synod returned to his Majesty's propositions.

‡ In one of the papers it is objected, that the bond was so expressed as to imply, that the King by himself, and independently of the courts of justice, might decide on all civil and criminal causes; and that he had a right not only to inflict civil punishment on ministers,

much ability and temper, concludes with these words: "Howsoever it shall please God to dispose of his (Majesty's) heart, the ministry, I dowte not, will keepe themselves within the boundis of their callinge, and neither directly nor indirectly attempte any thing that shall not be lawfull and seeming for them, but with patience committe all the successe unto the Lorde; remembringe the sayinge of Ambrose, that, when they have done their duties, *preces et lachrimæ arma nostra sunt*, and we have no warrant to proceede farther *."

The synod of Fife set an example to their brethren in the other provinces on this interesting occasion. Having met *pro re nata*, they appointed a committee to draw up answers to the King's questions †. They sent a deputation to request his Majesty to refer the decision of them to the regular meeting of the General Assembly, and to prorogue the extraordinary meeting which he had called. In case he should not comply with this request, they advised the presbyteries under their inspection to

but also to deprive them of their office. And it is pleaded that, as the word of God declares the duties of all civil relations, and as idolatry, adultery, murder, &c. are criminal offences, so ministers, for inculcating the former and rebuking the latter, might be charged with a violation of the bond. (Cald. v. 139—145.) It would be easy to justify these interpretations. For example, the late Convention declared, that his Majesty had "power upon any necessitie to command any minister—to preiche or to desist—from preiching in particular places." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 107.)

* Objections to the subscription that is obtruded upon the ministers of Scotland. (Cotton MSS. Calig. D. ii. 100.)

† Their answers may be seen in Printed Calderwood, pp. 382—390.

send commissioners to Perth, in testimony of their obedience to the royal authority : but they at the same time drew up instructions for the regulation of their conduct. The commissioners were instructed to declare, that they could not acknowledge that meeting as a lawful General Assembly, nor consent that it should call in question the established polity of the church. If this point should be decided against them, they were to protest for the liberties of the church, and keep themselves free from all approbation of the subsequent proceedings. In any extra-judicial discussion of the questions that might take place, they were instructed to adhere to the following general principles : that the external government of the church is laid down in the word of God ; that it belongs to the pastors and doctors of the church to declare what the Scriptures have taught on this head ; and, as a scriptural form of government and discipline had after long and grave deliberation been regularly settled in Scotland, as the church had for many years been happily preserved by means of it from heresy and schism, and as none of the ecclesiastical office-bearers moved any doubts about it, that his Majesty should be requested not to disturb such a rare, peaceable, and decent constitution by the agitating of fruitless and unnecessary questions *. The presbytery of Edinburgh limited and instructed their representatives in the same manner †. These instructions display much

* Melville's Diary, pp. 290—292.

† Rec. of the Presb. of Edin. Feb. 22, 1596. Cald. v. 197—199.

wisdom, and point out the true way of resisting innovations which were sought to be introduced, not by reason and argument, but by the combined influence of fraud and force.

His Majesty was convinced by these proceedings, that, in order to carry his measures, it behoved him to employ other arts besides those of intimidation. The ministers in the northern parts of the kingdom had rarely attended the General Assembly, owing to their distance from the places of its meeting, and the deficiency of their incomes. They were comparatively unacquainted with its modes of procedure, and strangers to the designs of the court; not to mention their general inferiority in point of gifts to their brethren of the south. Sir Patrick Murray, one of the gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, was now despatched on a mission to them. He was instructed to visit the presbyteries in Angus and Aberdeenshire; to acquaint them with the late dangerous tumult, and the undutiful and treasonable conduct of the ministers, in Edinburgh; to procure, if possible, their subscription to the bond, and their consent to receive the popish lords into the communion of the church; and to desire them to send some of their members to the ensuing assembly to resolve his Majesty's questions, which had already been approved by the discreetest of the ministers*. In his private conversations, Murray laboured to in-

* Instructions to Patrick Murray. (Cotton MSS. Calig. D. ii. 98.) The following extracts from his instructions will shew the kind of

spire them with jealousies of the southern ministers, as wishing to engross the whole management of ecclesiastical affairs, to the exclusion of those who had an equal right and more discretion to use it; and he assured them, that, if they were once acquainted with his Majesty, any suspicions which they might have conceived of him, and which had been fostered by the representations of their ambitious brethren, would be speedily and completely dissipated*.

Melville was prevented from being present at Perth, in consequence of his being obliged, in his capacity of rector, to attend a public meeting of the university. But he had done his duty in procuring the instructions by which the conduct of the commissioners from Fife was regulated; and his nephew was prepared to express his sentiments on the different points that were likely to be brought forward. After a contest of three days, during which all the arts of court-intrigue were employed in influencing the minds of the voters, it was decided by a majority of voices that the meeting should be held to be a lawful General Assembly extraordinarily conven-

arguments which Murray was directed to employ. "We will not believe that the presbyterie of Aberdene will acknowledge any supremacy of the presbyterie and ministers of Edinburge above them.—As to the pretended commissioners of the generall assemblie their commission is found and decernit be us and our counsell to be unlawfull.—So ther is no present power above the said presbyterie of Aberdene to stay them to accept the Earles reasonable satisfaction, in case the same be offerit, sen we and the counsell hes commanded them to accept the same." (Instructions, ut supra.)

* Spotswood, 438, 439.

ed; upon which the commissioners from Fife, agreeably to their instructions, protested that nothing which might be done should be held valid, or improved to the prejudice of the liberties of the church of Scotland. Disgusted at the influence which he saw exerted, deserted by some of the friends in whom he most confided, deprived of the assistance of his uncle, and distrusting his own ability and firmness, James Melville hastily quitted Perth. His colleagues resolved to remain, and, under the protection of their protest, to prevent, as far as possible, the assembly from sacrificing the rights of the church. But in spite of all their exertions, his Majesty succeeded in obtaining such answers to his leading questions, as gave him the greatest advantage in carrying on his future operations against the ecclesiastical constitution. The answer to the very first question, simple and harmless as it may appear in terms, was really, in the circumstances of the case, pregnant with danger; and the assembly, in agreeing to it, acted like a garrison, which, on the first parley, should throw open its gates, and allow the enemy to make a lodgement within the wall*.

* That the assembly, when unbiassed, viewed the matter in this light, may be inferred from the manner in which the answer was expressed, before it was altered to please the King: "The breithier convened give their advys in the first article, that it is not expedient to mak a law or act twiching this, leist a durre should be opened to curious and turbulent sprits, otherwise they think it lawfull," &c. (Melville's Diary, p. 305. Spotswood, 440.)

The King had published a long list of questions which went to produce a total alteration of the existing church-government. By declaring, in these circumstances, "that it is lawful to his Majesty or to the pastors to propose in a General Assembly whatsoever point they desired to be resolved or reformed in matters of external government," the assembly virtually and constructively sanctioned the project of the court, although they might reserve to themselves a right to deliberate upon its details. The qualifications added to their resolution, "providing it be done *decenter*, in right time and place, and *animo ædificandi non tentandi*," were mere words of course, and could be no safeguard against any proposals of royal innovation. If it behoved them to speak Latin, the answer which they ought to have returned, (and it would have served as an answer to all the questions,) was, *Nolumus leges Ecclesiæ Scoticæ mutari*. The other answers which the assembly gave related chiefly to the liberty of the pulpit, upon which they imposed restrictions, which were doubly dangerous at a time when the court had not only discovered its hostile intentions against the polity of the church, but had procured the assistance of some of its official guardians to carry them into execution. Having succeeded thus far to his wish, the King signified his willingness to refer the decision of the remaining questions to another General Assembly to be held at Dundee on the 10th of May following; and, in the mean time, the ar-

ticles agreed to were ratified by the Convention of Estates which was then sitting at Perth*.

This assembly is chiefly remarkable, as being the first meeting of the ministers of Scotland which yielded to that secret and corrupt influence, which the King continued afterwards to use, until the General Assembly was at last converted into a mere organ of the court, employed for registering and giving out royal edicts in ecclesiastical matters. "Coming to Perth (says James Melville) we found the ministers of the north convened in such number as was not wont to be seen at any assemblies, and every one a greater courtier nor another: So that my ears heard new votes, and my ears saw a new sight, to wit, flocks of ministers going in and out at the king's palace, late at night and betimes in the morning. Sir Patrick Murray, the diligent Apostle of the North, had made all the northland ministers acquainted with the King. They began then to look big in the matter, and find fault with the ministers of the south and the popes of Edinburgh, who

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 110—112. Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 131—134. Cald. v. 222—236. Spotswood, 439—443. Melville's Diary, 303—309. James Melville enumerates thirteen reasons for maintaining the *nullity* of this assembly. The chief of these are: that it was not appointed by the last assembly, nor called by its commissioners, but by the sole authority of the King; that it was not opened by sermon; and that there was no choice of a moderator or clerk. The Buik of the Universal Kirk says: "Exhortatioun y^r was none;" and it mentions no moderator. It says that Mr. Thomas Nicholson was chosen clerk; but states, on the margin, that some thought his election did not take place till the subsequent assembly.

had not handled matters well, but had almost lost the King *." James afterwards depended chiefly upon the votes of the northern ministers for carrying his measures. The General Assembly was appointed to meet at such places as were most convenient for their attendance; and if at any time it was found necessary to convene it at a greater distance from them, ways and means were fallen upon to provide them with a *viaticum* †.

But to secure credit to his cause it was necessary for his Majesty to gain over some individuals who possessed greater respectability, and who were able to plead as well as to vote for his plans. James Nicolson, minister of Meigle ‡, was highly esteemed among his brethren. He was the intimate acquaintance and bosom friend of James Melville. At assemblies they always lodged in the same apartment, and slept in the same bed; and harmonized as much

* Diary, p. 303. comp. his History of the Declining Age of the Church, p. 7.

† "I am bold humbly to advise your Majesty, (says Archbishop Gladstones,) that, in the designation of the place of the ensuing G. Assembly, your Majesty make choice either of the place appointed by the last Assembly, which will help the formality of it, or then of Dundee, where your Majesty knows your own northern men may have commodity to repair. And albeit your Majesty's princely liberality may supply distance of place by furniture to those that travel, yet," &c. (Letter of Archbishop of St. Andrews to the King: April 18, 1610. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Fac. V. 1. 12. N° 50.)

‡ Mr. James Nicolson was presented to the parsonage and vicarage of Cortoquhay, on the 7th of May, 1580: and to the parsonage and vicarage of Meigle, "penult febr. 1583." (Register of Present. to Benefices, vol. ii. ff. 34, 97.)

in their sentiments about public affairs as they did in their private dispositions. On the evening before the question respecting the constitution of the assembly was determined, Nicolson was amissing; and in the morning James Melville learned, to his astonishment and grief, that the mind of his friend had undergone a sudden revolution. He had been sent for to the palace, where he was detained till a late hour; and the King, partly by threats that if his will was not complied with he would ruin the church, and partly by promises and flatteries, had engaged his vote. The two friends went together to the meeting of ministers; and after James Melville had reasoned at great length against the proposal of the court, Nicolson rose and replied to his arguments in a plausible speech, which had the greatest influence in persuading the members to come to the resolution which was adopted.—Thomas Buchanan distinguished himself during this assembly by the boldness and ability with which he asserted the liberties of the church. Having summoned the ministers into the hall where the Convention of Estates was met, the King provoked the friends of the established discipline to a dispute on the subject of his queries, by insinuating broadly that their silence proceeded from fear and distrust of their cause. “We are not afraid,” replied Buchanan, “nor do we distrust the justice of our cause; but we perceive a design to canvass and toss our matters, that they may be thrown loose, and then left to the decision of men of little skill and less con-

science." Having protested that nothing which he might say should invalidate the authority of the received discipline, he proceeded to examine the doubts started by the royal queries, and exposed their weakness in a style not greatly to his Majesty's satisfaction. But, alas! this was the expiring blaze of Buchanan's zeal. Before he left Perth he was "sprinkled with the holy water of the court;" and at the next assembly, he appeared as an advocate for those very measures which he had so eagerly and so ably opposed*. It may be observed, however, that Buchanan, and some others who acted along with him, seem to have intended merely to concede some points which they deemed of less importance, with the view of pleasing the King. They were kept in ignorance of the ulterior designs of James, which were imparted to such men as Gladstones, Spotswood, and Law, who had been corrupted by the promise of bishopricks. But the latter had at that time so little influence in the church, that they could have carried no measure without the assistance of the former, whose facility and want of foresight we cannot help blaming, while we acquit them of having been actuated by mercenary motives.

Melville learned the proceedings at Perth with deep concern, but without feelings of surprise or despondency. He perceived the course which the

* Melville's Diary, pp. 303, 308, 311.

court was driving, and that nothing would satisfy the King but the overthrow of the presbyterian constitution. Attached to this from conviction as well as from the share he had had in its erection, satisfied of its intrinsic excellence and its practical utility, and believing it to be the cause of Christ, of freedom, and of his country, he resolved to defend it with intrepidity and perseverance, to yield up none of its outworks, to fight every inch of ground, and to sacrifice his liberty, and, if necessary, his life, in the contest. With this view he joined with some of his brethren in keeping the day fixed for holding the ordinary meeting of the General Assembly. This meeting was constituted by Pont, the last moderator, after which the members present agreed to dismiss, and to refer all business to the assembly which the King and Convention at Perth had appointed to be held in Dundee. By this step they asserted the right of the church as to the holding of her assemblies, which it was one great object of the court to infringe*.

The King was sensible that the advantages which he had gained at Perth were in no small degree owing to the absence of Melville, and he dreaded his opposition in the assembly at Dundee. Before it proceeded to business, Sir Patrick Murray, who was now become his Majesty's Vicar-general, sent for James Melville, and dealt with him to persuade

* Melville's Diary, p. 309. Cald. v. 240.

his uncle to return home, otherwise the King would take forcible measures to remove him. James Melville replied, that it would be to no purpose for him, to make the attempt. If his Majesty should use his authority in the way of commanding him to leave the town, he had no doubt, he said, that his uncle would submit, but death would not deter him from acting according to his conscience. "Truly, I fear he shall suffer the dint of the King's wrath," said Sir Patrick. "And truly," replied the other, "I am not afraid but he will bide all." James Melville reported the conversation to his uncle, "whose answer," says he, "I need not write." Next morning they were both sent for to the royal apartments. The interview was at first amicable and calm; but entering on the subject of variance, Melville delivered his opinion with his wonted freedom, and the altercation between him and the King soon became warm and boisterous*.

Notwithstanding all the arts of management employed, it was with difficulty that the court carried its measures, even in a very modified form, in this assembly. The assembly at Perth was declared lawful, but not without an explanation; its acts were approved, but with certain qualifications; and the additional answers now given to the King's questions were guardedly expressed. Through the

* "And ther they heeled on, till all the hous and clos bathe hard, mikle of a large houre. In end the King takes upe, and dismissis him favourablie." (Melville's Diary, p. 312.)

influence of the northern ministers an act passed in favour of the popish lords, authorizing certain ministers to receive them into the bosom of the church, upon their complying with the conditions prescribed to them. They were received accordingly ; although it was evident that they were induced to submit, in consequence of the failure of an attempt which some of their adherents had made on the peace of the kingdom ; and it was soon after found necessary, with the consent of government, to bring them again under the sentence of excommunication. The design of altering the government of the church was carefully concealed from this assembly ; but the King, under a specious pretext, obtained their consent to a measure by which he intended to accomplish it clandestinely. He requested them to appoint a committee of their number with whom he might advise respecting certain important affairs which they could not at present find leisure to determine ; such as, the arrangements to be made respecting the ministers of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, the planting of vacant churches in general, and the providing of local and fixed stipends for the ministers through the kingdom. To this the assembly agreed, and nominated fourteen ministers, to whom, or any seven of them, they granted power to convene with his Majesty for the above purposes, and to give him advice “ in all affairs concerning the weal of the church, and entertainment of peace and obedience to his Majesty within his realm.” This was a rash and dangerous

appointment. The General Assembly had been in the habit of appointing commissioners to execute particular measures, or to watch over the safety of the church until their next meeting. But the present commission was entirely of a different kind. The persons nominated on it were appointed formally as advisers or assessors to his Majesty. They were in fact his ecclesiastical council; and as, with exception of an individual or two named to save appearances, they were devoted to the court, he was enabled, by their means, to exercise as much power in the church as he did by his privy council in the state. "A wedge taken out of the church to rend her with her own forces!" says Calderwood: "the very needle (says James Melville) which drew in the episcopal thread *!"

James was too fond of the ecclesiastical branch of his prerogative, and too eager for the accomplishment of his favourite plans, to suffer the new powers which he had acquired to remain long unemployed. Repairing to Falkland on the rising of the assembly, he called the presbytery of St. Andrews before him, reversed a sentence which they had pronounced against a worthless minister, and restored him to the exercise of his office. Accompanied by his privy counsellors, laical and clerical, he next repaired to the town of St. Andrews, for the double purpose of

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 184—188. Melville's Diary, pp. 311, 312. Hist. of Dec. Age of the Church, p. 10. Cald. v. 243—261. Spotswood, pp. 445—447.

expelling its ministers, and imposing such restrictions on the university as would facilitate his future operations. He attended public worship on the day of his arrival; and when Wallace was about to proceed to the application of his discourse, James, either afraid of the freedom which he might use, or wishing to gratify his own dictatorial humour, interrupted the preacher and ordered him to stop. Melville (although aware that one object of the royal visit was to find some ground of accusation against himself) could not refrain from publicly expressing his displeasure at this royal interference, and at the silence which the commissioners of the church tamely preserved on the occasion*.

At the Royal Visitation of the university †, great eagerness was testified to find matter of censure against Melville. All those individuals, in the university or in the town, whose envy or ill-will he had incurred, were encouraged to come forward with complaints against him; and a large roll, consisting of informations to his prejudice, was put into the hands of the King. He underwent several strict examinations before the visitors. But the explana-

* Melville's Diary, p. 313.

† In this visitation six of the commissioners of the church were associated with certain members of the privy council, the provost of St. Andrews, &c. The founded persons in the several colleges were required to give in to the visitors, "yair greiffis & disorders and contraversies gif thay ony haif, togidder with the abuses and enormiteis cōmittit wthin ye samin," &c. (Summonds to appear before the Visitors: July 7, 1597.)

tions which he gave of his conduct were so satisfactory, and his defence of himself against the slanders of his detractors so powerful, that the visitors could find no ground or pretext for proceeding against him, either as the head of his own college, or as the chief magistrate of the university.* Spotswood has preserved some of the accusations brought against him, and disingenuously represents them as having been proved before the visitors. "In the New College, (says he) whereof the said Mr. Andrew had the charge, all things were found out of order; the rents ill husbanded, the professions neglected, and in place of divinity lectures, politick questions oftentimes agitated: as, Whether the election or succession of Kings were the better form of government; How far the royal power extended; and, If Kings might be censured for abusing the same, and deposed by the Estates of the Kingdom. The King to correct these abuses did prescribe to every professor his subject of teaching, appointing the first master to read the Common Places to the students, with the Law and History of the Bible; the second to read the New Testament; the third, the Prophets, with the Books of Ecclesiastes and Canticles; and the fourth, the Hebrew Grammar, with the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the Book of Job †." The *Acts of the Visitation*, which were in the archbishop's possession, are still in existence, and disprove every one of these allegations. They

* Melville's Diary, p. 313.

† History, p. 449.

do not contain one word which insinuates that the affairs of the New College were out of order * ; and the regulations made respecting the future management of the academical revenues apply equally to all the colleges. Nor do they contain one syllable on the subject of abuses in the mode of teaching. It is true that they prescribe the branches to be taught in the different classes ; but this was not intended to " correct abuses." It was an arrangement made in the prospect of an additional professor being established in the college, according to a recommendation of the visitors ; a fact which Spotswood has suppressed. While I am obliged to expose these unpardonable perversions of a public document, I am quite ready to admit that something of the kind mentioned by the archbishop might be included among the accusations presented against the Principal of the New College. The head *de Magistratu* is to be found in every System of Divinity, and falls to be treated by every theological professor in the course of his lectures. I have lit-

* One would almost suppose that Spotswood had confounded the Visitation of 1597 with another which took place after he had been many years Chancellor of the university, when it was stated by authority, " that of late years some abuses, corruptions, and disorders have arisen, and are still yet fostered and entertained within the New College of St. Andrews, partly upon the occasion of sloth, negligence and connivance of the persons—to whose credit and care the redress and reformation of these abuses properly appertained—whereupon has followed the dilapidation, &c. of the patrimonie—the neglect of the ordinar teaching—the Professours are become careless and negligent." &c. &c. (Commission for Visitation, Nov. 29, 1621.)

tle doubt, that Melville, when he came to that part of his course, laid down the radical principles on which a free government and a limited monarchy rest; and it is not improbable that the young men under his charge would take the liberty of occasionally discussing questions connected with this subject in their private meetings *. This will not now be considered as reflecting any dishonour, either on the master or his scholars. On the contrary, Melville's countrymen will listen with pride and gratitude to the information, that, in an age when the principles of liberty were but partially diffused, and under an administration fast tending to despotism, there was at least one man, holding an important public situation, who dared to avow such principles, and who imbued the minds of his pupils with those liberal views of civil government by which the presbyterian ministers were distinguish-

* Speaking of this subject in another work, Spotswood says: "*Hæc erat discipulorum*," &c. "This was the theology of the students of the New College, who at that time were more conversant with Buchanan's book, *De Jure Regni*, than with Calvin's Institutions." (*Refutatio Libelli*, p. 67.) To this Calderwood replies: "*Neminem novi Theologi*," &c. "I know none among us entitled to the name of a Divine, who has not read Calvin's Institutions more diligently than Spotswood, who, I suspect, is scarcely capable of understanding them, although he should read them. Must a Divine spend all his days in studying nothing but Calvin's Institutions? Why should not a Scottish theologian read the Dialogue of a learned Scotsman concerning the Law of Government among the Scots?" (*Epist. Philad. Viind. Altare Damasc.* p. 753.) Whatever the archbishop might do, the King, at least, could not blame those who neglected Calvin. It was one of the *wise sayings* of James, "That Calvin's Institutions is a childish work!" (*Cald.* iv. 213.)

ed, and which all the efforts of a servile band of prelates, in concert with an arbitrary court and a selfish nobility, were afterwards unable to extinguish.

Not being able to find any thing in his conduct which was censurable, the visitors deprived Melville of his rectorship. This was easily accomplished; for, disapproving of the union of that office with the professorship of theology, he had accepted it at first with reluctance, and acquiesced conditionally in his last re-election. Of this circumstance the visitors availed themselves to prevent the odium which they must have incurred by ejecting him *.—Under the pretext of providing for the better management of the revenues of the colleges, a council, nominated by the King, was appointed, with such powers as gave it a control over all academical proceedings. Thus his Majesty was furnished with a commission to rule the church, and a council to rule the university, until he should be able to place bishops over

* “ In respect the present Rector alledges he never accepted the said office but conditionally, against the form of such elections, therefore the office is found vacant.” (*Acts of Visitation. Melville's Diary, p. 313.*) Spotswood says that the King, understanding that Melville had continued Rector for a number of years together “ against the accustomed form,” commanded a new election; “ and for preventing the like disorders a statute was made that none should be continued Rector above a year.” (*Hist. p. 448.*) But how do the facts stand? John Douglas was Rector from 1550 to 1572; Robert Hamilton from 1572 to 1576; James Wilkie from 1576 to 1590; Andrew Melville from 1590 to 1597; and Robert Wilkie from 1597 to 1608. The re-election of Robert Wilkie was sanctioned by the King. (*The King's Majesties Second Visitation.*)

both, and become supreme Dictator in religion and literature, as well as in law.

But the regulation which was intended chiefly to affect Melville remains to be mentioned. All doctors and regents who taught theology or philosophy, not being pastors in the church, were discharged, under the pain of deprivation and of rebellion at the instance of the Conservator, from sitting in sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, or general assembly, and from all teaching in congregations, except in the weekly exercise and censuring of doctrine. To reconcile them in some degree to this invasion on their rights, the actual masters were allowed annually to nominate three persons, from whom the council appointed by the visitors should choose one to represent the university in the General Assembly ; provided the same individual should not be re-elected for three years. The pretext of concern for the interests of learning, by preventing the teachers from being distracted from their duties, was too flimsy to impose upon a single individual. The court was anxious to get rid of Melville's opposition to its measures in the church judicatories ; and this was deemed the safest way of accomplishing that object, according to the creeping, tortuous, and timid policy of James. In imposing this restriction on the professors, the visitors acted entirely by regal authority ; for no such powers were conveyed to them by the act of Parliament un-

der which they sat *. They were guilty of an infringement of the rights of the church : for by law and by invariable practice, doctors or theological professors were constituent members of her judicatories. A greater insult was offered to the members of the university by the reservation made in this case, than if the privilege had been altogether taken from them. They were not deemed fit to be entrusted with the power of choosing their own representative to the General Assembly. This was given to a council, composed of individuals who did not belong to their body, and who were the creatures of the King. No wonder that Rollock sunk in the estimation of his friends, by suffering himself, as one of the visitors, to be made a tool to enslave the university in which he was educated, and to establish a precedent for enslaving the learned institution over which he himself presided. Indeed, by one of the regulations to which he gave his sanction on the present occasion, he virtually stripped himself of the right to sit in ecclesiastical judicatories ; and in order to escape from the operation of his own law, he found it necessary to take a step which violated its ostensible principle, by undertaking the additional duty of a fixed pastor of a particular congregation †. The record bears, that all the masters willingly submitted to the regulations

* In the year 1599, the ratification of a Convention of Estates was procured to this and other regulations of the Visitors. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 189.)

† See Note A.

made by the visitors, and gave their oath to observe them under the pain of deprivation. As far as Melville was concerned, this promise could mean no more than that he would run his risk of the penalty; for he was determined not to relinquish his right to sit in the church courts.

There is another act of the visitors which illustrates the malignant influence of arbitrary power on the interests of learning. William Welwood, Professor of Laws in St. Salvator's College*, being called before them, was declared to have transgressed the foundation in sundry points, and was deprived of his situation. Welwood was the friend of Melville and of the ministers of St. Andrews†. Whether, in his lectures, he had touched these delicate questions respecting the origin and limits of kingly power which the Principal of the New College was accused of discussing, I have no means of ascertaining. But his profession, as a teacher of jurisprudence, was ob-

* John Arthour (a brother-in-law of Archbishop Adamson) succeeded William Skene as Professor of Laws. (*Carta Recessus pro Reformatione*, Junij 21, 1586.) On his removal Welwood exchanged the Mathematical for the Juridical Chair, about the year 1587. (Melville's Diary, pp. 200—203.)

† *Ad Expediendos Processus in Jvdiis Ecclesiasticis. Appendix Parallelorum Juris diuini humanique. Lvgd. Bat. 1594. 4to. Pp. 12.* The epistle dedicatory is inscribed: "Fidis Christi seruis, DAVIDI BLAKKIO et ROBERTO WALLÆ, Ecclesiæ Andreadopolitanæ pastoribus vigilantissimis fratribusque plurimum dilectis, G. VETVOD." Scaliger's epitaph on Buchanan was published for the first time at the end of this work, and is introduced with the following note: "Ne reliqua esset pagina vacua, placuit subiicere Carmen hoc ab autore ipso etiam assentiente, dum ista cuderentur, oblatum."

noxious in the eyes of James. Accordingly, the visitors declared, in their wisdom, "that the profession of the Laws is no ways necessary at this time in this university;" and the class was suppressed. Another set of visitors, two years after, ventured to recommend the seeking out of "a sufficient learned person in the Laws, able to discharge him both in the ordinary teaching of that profession in the said college, and of the place and jurisdiction of commissary within the diocese;" but the recommendation was "delete by his Majesty's special command *." James considered himself as Teacher of Laws to his whole kingdom; and, unquestionably, royal proclamations were the proper commentaries on statutes which derived their sole authority from the royal sanction, according to his favourite device, *Ejus est explicare cujus est condere*.—Melville might have shared the same fate as Welwood, had it not been for circumstances which pressed the fear of disgrace into the service of a sense of justice. There was at that time in the university a number of young men from Denmark, Poland, France, and the Low Countries, who had been attracted to

* The Actis and Recesse of the King's two Visitations of the Univ. of St. And^s. In the year 1600, the King, out of "his frie favour and clemency decerned Mr Wm Walwood to be re-posseased in the lawyers p^lce and professioun in the auld college of Sanctandrous—upon his giving sufficient bond and security for his dutiful behaviour to his Ma^{tie}." But his restitution did not take place, at least not at that time. (His Majesty's Order and Letters, June 6, and Nov. 3, 1600, and March 9, 1611.)

Scotland by the fame of Melville's talents. James was afraid to take a step which would have had the effect of lowering his reputation in the eyes of the foreign literati, whose good opinion he was fond of cultivating*.

While the visitors were busy in imposing on the university such regulations as were dictated by his Majesty, the commissioners of the General Assembly had gratified him by their proceedings against the ministers of St. Andrews. Wallace was accused of having charged Secretary Lindsay with partiality and injustice in the examination of the witnesses on Black's process. This might surely have been excused, as proceeding from the amiable feeling of sympathy with his colleague; and the Secretary was willing, for his part, to pass over the offence. But he was instigated to prosecute; and Wallace, having declined the judgment of the commissioners, was removed from St. Andrews†. Black

* Melville's Diary, p. 313. It may be mentioned here, that there was another royal visitation of the university in the year 1599. On that occasion it was agreed that the faculty of theology should be restored, but the designations to be given to the graduates was left to subsequent arrangement. Melville was chosen Dean of the theological faculty. No provision was made for carrying into effect the recommendation of the former visitors, by the settlement of a fourth professor in the New College. (Acts of Visit. and Diary, ut supra.)

† Mr. Ro. Wallace reasons of his Declinature. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Rob. III. 5. 1.) Melville's Diary, pp. 313, 314. Spotswood, 448.—On the 10th of December, 1602, Mr. Robert Wallace was admitted minister of Tranent. (Record of Presb. of Haddington; Dec. 8, 1602.) James Gibson was translated from Pencaitland to Tranent on the 9th of May, 1598. On the 6th of October, 1602, a

was removed without any form of process *; and George Gladstones, minister of Arbirlot in Angus, was nominated as his successor †. Gladstones was a man entirely to his Majesty's mind. He had a competent portion of pedantry, was abundantly vain-glorious, and at the same time possessed all the obsequiousness which is requisite in one who is to be raised to the primacy. As the session and better part of the congregation were warmly attached to their ministers, the admission of Gladstones would have met with great opposition, had not James Melville, from amiable motives, taken an active part in persuading the parties aggrieved to submit, and make a virtue of necessity ‡. In consequence of this, the King was so far reconciled to Black, as to allow his admission to the vacant parish of Arbirlot. During the six years that he survived this event, he gained universal esteem by his private

report was made of "the deceis of our loving brother James Gibsone, of gud memorie." (Ibid.)

* Spotswood's misrepresentations of this affair are considered in Note B.

† He was at first a schoolmaster in Montrose, and had been minister in several parishes before his settlement at Arbirlot. (Wodrow's Life of Gladstones, p. 1. MSS. Bibl. Col. Glasg. vol. iv.) It would seem, from a letter of Melville, that Gladstones married a daughter of John Dury, and consequently was brother-in-law to James Melville. For, writing of the archbishop's death, he says: "I have pitie on his wyfe and children, if it were but for good Johnne Duries memory, whose simplicity and sincerity in his lyfe tyme condemned the worldly wisdom in all without exception." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 316.

conduct, and by the affectionate and condescending manner in which he discharged his pastoral duties among a simple people. He died of an apoplectic stroke, when he was in the act of dispensing the communion-elements to his congregation. The circumstances of his death are beautifully described in a poem which Melville dedicated to his memory *.

Having taken these precautions to prevent opposition in the quarters from which it was most to be dreaded, the court thought that it might now safely commence its operations. In the month of December, 1597, the commissioners of the General Assembly, who are henceforward to be considered as moving at the direction of the King, gave in a petition to Parliament, requesting that the church should be admitted to a vote in the supreme council of the nation. The royal influence was exerted in overcoming any objections which were entertained against this measure on the part of the nobility, who humoured his Majesty by granting more than was asked by the petitioners. It was declared that prelacy was the third estate of the kingdom; that such ministers as his Majesty should please to raise to the dignity of bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should have as complete a right to sit and vote in Parliament as those of the ecclesiastical estate had enjoyed at any former period; and that bishoprics, as they became vacant, should be conferred on none but such as were qualified and disposed to act as

* See under Note B.

ministers or preachers. The spiritual power to be exercised by bishops in the government of the church, was left by the Parliament to be settled between his Majesty and the General Assembly, without prejudice, in the mean time, to the authority possessed by the several ecclesiastical judicatories *. The last clause has been ascribed to the respect which the estates felt for the presbyterian discipline, and their fears that "this beginning would tend to the overthrow of the established order of the church, which they had sworn to defend †." Such might be the views entertained by some members of parliament, and they might be professed by others; but it is probable that the form of the act was agreeable to the King, who was aware of the opposition which it would meet with from the ministers, and knew that it was only in a gradual manner, and by great art and management, that episcopacy could be introduced into the church.

The commissioners of the church were anxious to represent what they had done in the most favourable light. In a circular letter which they addressed to presbyteries, desiring them to send their representatives to the General Assembly at Dundee in the month of March following, they took credit to themselves for having procured a meeting of that court at an earlier day than had been appointed.

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 130, 131.

† History of the Reformation, by Mr. John Forbes, minister of Alford, MS. *penes me*, p. 19.

They spoke of the petition which they had given in to the late Parliament as merely a prosecution of similar petitions presented by the church ; and they connected it with the providing of fixed stipends for ministers, and rescuing them from the poverty and contempt under which they had so long suffered. They dwelt on the difficulty which they, in concert with his Majesty, had felt in procuring this boon for the church ; mentioned the care which they had taken that it should be granted without prejudice to the established discipline ; and signified that it was the advice and earnest wish of their best friends that they should not hesitate to accept it, although the grant was not made altogether in the form which they could have desired *. This is the language of men who either wished to deceive, or who had suffered themselves to be grossly deceived. The commissioners had no instructions from their constituents to take any step in this important affair. It is true that the General Assembly had often complained that persons who had no authority or commission from the church took it upon them to sit and vote in Parliament in her name ; and in some instances a wish had been expressed that individuals appointed by the church should be admitted to a voice in such parliamentary causes as involved her interest. But this was not her deliberate and unanimous opinion, at least it had not been so for a considerable time back ; and far less had she agreed

* Printed Cald. pp. 413, 414.

that these voters should be ministers of the gospel. On the contrary, it was the decided opinion of the principal ministers, that if the church should send representatives to Parliament, they ought to be ruling elders, or such laymen as she might think proper to choose *. In fine, whatever might be the views of the Estates, the evident object of the King was, by means of the ministers' vote in Parliament, to introduce episcopacy into the church ; and it requires the utmost stretch of charity to believe that the commissioners were ignorant of his intentions.

The provincial synod of Fife met soon after the dissolution of Parliament. Sir Patrick Murray was sent to it with a letter from the King, in which all the arguments which the commissioners had used in

* The only evidence (so far as I can recollect) of the ministers having proposed that some of their number should have votes in Parliament, is to be found in the Remarks which they made at Linlithgow on the acts of the Parliament 1584. But there was no meeting of the General Assembly at that time ; and the clause in question was inserted at the instance of Pont, who had been a Lord of Session, in opposition to the opinion of other ministers, and particularly of Melville and his nephew. Even in that document, an alternative is proposed : “ Discreet commissioners of the most learned, both in the law of God and of the country, *being of the function of the ministrie or elders of the kirk*, are to represent that estate, at whose mouth the law ought to be required, namely, in ecclesiastical matters.” (Melville's Diary, p. 171.) Previously to this, in October, 1581, the assembly agreed “ that tuching voting in parliament [and] assisting in counsell, commissioners from the generall kirk sould supplie the place of bishops. And as to the exercising of the civill or criminall jurisdiction anent the office of Bishops, the heretabill baillies sould vse the same.” (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 113, b.)

favour of the vote in Parliament were repeated and enforced. The impression at first made by their joint representations was speedily effaced by the speeches of the more judicious members of synod. The subject was discussed with that unshackled and bold spirit which becomes the deliberations of a presbyterian judicatory. In the course of the debate which ensued, James Melville, to the great displeasure of the King's commissioner, exposed the real nature of the proposed measure, and warned his brethren of the snare which was laid for them. They could not, he contended, accept the proffered grant without giving their sanction to episcopacy: for the ministers whom they sent to Parliament could be admitted to sit and vote there in no other character than that of bishops, according to the very terms of the late act; and what was this but to rebuild what they had taken so much pains and time to pull down? His uncle followed on the same side. As he was proceeding in his usual style of vehement oratory, he was interrupted by Thomas Buchanan, who told him, that he was prohibited from attending church courts, and had no right to take part in the discussion. "It was my province (replied Melville) to resolve questions from the word of God, and to reason, vote, and moderate in the assemblies of the church, when yours was to teach grammar rules;" a retort which was much relished by the members of synod, who were offended at the late tergiversation of Buchanan, and at his rude interruption on the present occasion. A disposition to

defend their constitution against the danger to which it was exposed now pervaded the whole assembly. The venerable Ferguson adverted to the early period at which the evils of episcopacy had been discovered in Scotland; he narrated the means which had been used, from pulpits and in assemblies, to expel it completely from the church; and comparing the project now on foot to the artifice by which the Greeks, after a fruitless siege of many years, succeeded in at last taking Troy, he concluded with the warning words of the Dardan prophetess, "*Equo ne credite, Teucro*." Davidson, whose zeal had prompted him to attend the meeting, shewed that the parliamentary voter was a bishop in disguise, and catching enthusiasm from the speech of his aged brother, exclaimed, "*Busk*, busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can, and fetch him in as fairlie as ye will, we see him weill eneuch, we see the horns of his mitre†.*"

I should not give a faithful picture of the sentiments of the age and of the state of public feeling, if I passed over altogether the impression made on the public mind by two extraordinary phenomena which occurred at this time. In the month of July, 1597, a smart shock of an earthquake was felt in the north of Scotland, which extended through the shires of Perth, Inverness, and Ross; and in February following there was a great eclipse of the sun. Both of these occurrences were deemed portentous,

* dress.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 326, 327.

and viewed as prognosticating a disastrous revolution which should shake the constitution of the church and obscure her glory. James Melville gives the following account of the last of these appearances: "In the month of February (1598,) upon the 25th day, being the Saturday, betwixt nine and ten hours before noon, a most fearful and conspicuous eclipse of the sun began, which continued about two hours space. The whole face of the sun seemed to be darkness and covered about half a quarter of an hour, so that none could see to read upon a book; the stars appeared in the firmament; and the sea, land, and air, were so stilled and stricken dead, as it were, that, through astonishment, herds, families, men and women, were prostrate to the ground. Myself knew, out of the Ephemerides and Almanack, the day and hour thereof, and also, by natural philosophy, the cause, and set myself to note the proceedings thereof in a bason of water mixed with ink, thinking the matter but common. But when it came to the extremity of darkness, and my sight lost all the sun, I was stricken with such heaviness and fear that I had no refuge, but, prostrate on my knees, commended myself to God and cried, mercy. This was thought by all the wise and godly very prodigious; so that from pulpits and by writings both in prose and verse, admonitions were given to the ministers to beware that the changeable glistering shew of the world should not get in betwixt them and Christ*."

* History of the Declining Age of the Church, p. 8. In his Diary he has given a similar account of the eclipse; and this coincidence

In the prospect of the ensuing General Assembly, Melville could not help feeling the awkward situation in which he was placed by the restriction imposed on him at the late visitation of the university. He did not, however, hesitate in resolving to make his appearance at Dundee, whatever it might cost him. Had he acted otherwise at such a crisis, he would have betrayed the rights of the church, and forfeited the honour which he had acquired by his exertions in the establishment of presbytery. When his name was mentioned, at the calling of the roll in the beginning of the assembly, his Majesty challenged it, and said that he could not agree to the admission of one whom he had prohibited from attending on church courts. Melville defended his right. His Majesty's prohibition, he said, might extend to his place and emoluments in the university, but could not affect his doctoral office, which was purely ecclesiastical : he had a commission from his presbytery, and was resolved, for his part, not to betray it. Davidson spoke to the same purpose, and reminded the King that he was present as a Christian, and not as president of the assembly. James attempted a reply to this distinction, but had

forms one of the internal marks of the two histories having been written by the same author. "I was not ignorant," says he, "of the natural cause thair of, and yet when it cam to the amazfull uglie alriche darknes, I was cast on my knies, and my hart almaist fealled." The verses which he composed on this occasion are recorded in his Diary, p. 320. The more poetical description of his uncle may be seen in *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, ii. 120.

recourse to the ultimate reason of Kings, by declaring that he would allow no business to be transacted until his will was complied with. Melville accordingly retired; but not until he had delivered his sentiments, briefly and nervously, on the leading business which was to engage the attention of the assembly. He was commanded at first to confine himself to his lodgings; but no sooner was it understood that his brethren repaired to him, than he and his colleague, Jonston, were charged to quit Dundee instantly, under the pain of rebellion. Davidson complained of this next day in the assembly; and another member* boldly asserted that the restriction laid on the university, and the interdiction now given, proceeded from the dread which the court had of Melville's learning. "I will not hear one word on that head," said his Majesty twice or thrice. "Then we must crave help of him that will hear us," replied Davidson†. The highest eulogium from the mouth of James could not have done half so much honour to Melville as his present treatment of him did. He had procured a parliamentary statute in favour of the measure which he wished to carry; he knew that a great part of the elders stood pledged to support it by the vote which they had given in Parliament; he had the commissioners of the church at his beck; and he had

* This was John Knox, minister of Melrose, who was a son of William Knox minister of Cockpen, the brother of the Reformer.

† Melville's Diary, p. 329. Cald. v. 302, 303. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 73. MSS. vol. i. in Bibl. Col. Glasg.

brought up a trained band of trusty voters from the extremities of the north. And yet, with all these advantages on his side, he dreaded to bring forward his motion, or to submit it to discussion, so long as Melville remained in the house, or even within the precincts of the town, in which the assembly was held.

After a week spent in secret and public management, during which the complaints given in from different quarters against the commissioners were got quashed, the main business was at last introduced by a speech from the throne. His Majesty dwelt on the important services which he had done for the church, by establishing her discipline, watching over her peace, and endeavouring to recover her patrimony, which would never be fully effected unless the measure which he was about to propose was adopted. He solemnly and repeatedly protested, (with what truth it is now unnecessary to say,) that he had no intention to introduce either Popish or Anglican bishops, but that his sole object was that some of the best and wisest of the ministry, chosen by the General Assembly, should have a place in the Privy Council and Parliament, to sit in judgment on their own affairs, and not to stand, as they had too long stood, at the door, like poor suppliants, disregarded and despised. Bruce, Davidson, Aird, James Melville, and John Carmichael, were the chief speakers against the vote in Parliament; Pont, Buchanan, and Gladstones, in support of it. The latter had a powerful auxiliary in the King, who

was always ready to interfere in the debate. Gladstones having pleaded the power which the priests had among the ancient Romans "*in rogandis et ferendis legibus*," Davidson replied, that at Rome the priests were consulted, but had no vote in making laws: "*præsentibus sacerdotibus et divina exponentibus, sed non suffragia habentibus*." "Where have ye that?" asked the King. "In Titus Livius," said Davidson. "Oh! are you going then from the Scriptures to Titus Livius?" exclaimed his Majesty. There were flatterers present who applauded this wretched witticism; and they were encouraged to laugh at the old man, who pursued his argument with equal disregard of the puerilities of James, and the rudeness of his minions. The question being called for, it was decided by a majority of ten votes*, "that it was necessary and expedient for the weal of the church, that the ministry, as the third estate of this realm, should in the name of the church have a vote in Parliament." The measure was carried chiefly by the votes of the elders, and it was urged by the minority that a number of them had no commission; but the demand of a scrutiny was resisted. Davidson, who had refused to take part in the vote, gave in a protest against this decision, and against the proceedings of this and the two preceding assemblies, so far as they derogated

* "Mr. Gilbert Body led the ring, a drunken Orkney ass, and the graittest number followit, all for the bodie but [without] respect of the spreit." (Melville's Diary, p. 329.)

from the rights of the church; upon the ground of their not being free assemblies, but overawed by the King, and restricted in their due and wonted privileges. His protest was refused, and he was prosecuted for it before his presbytery at the King's instance*.

The Assembly farther agreed that fifty-one ministers should be chosen to represent the church, according to the ancient number of the bishops, abbots, and priors; and that their election should belong partly to the King and partly to the church. The court presented a series of resolutions respecting the manner of electing the voters, the duration

* Spotswood, who embraces every opportunity of speaking disrespectfully of Davidson, has advanced a number of assertions respecting his conduct on the present occasion, all of which it would be easy to refute. Among other things, he says: "He himself, as his custom was when he made any such trouble, fled away, and lurked a while, till his peace was again made." (Hist. p. 452.) It is very easy for a time-serving priest, who, by his tame compliances, can always secure himself against falling into danger, to talk thus of a man, from whose rebuke he more than once shrunk, and to accuse him of cowardice merely because he fled from the lawless rage of a despot. But it is not true that Davidson either fled or concealed himself at this time. On the 22d of March, 1597, immediately after the rising of the General Assembly, Lord Tungland and David Macgill of Cranston Riddell appeared before the presbytery of Haddington, and, in his Majesty's name, gave in a complaint against him. Being summoned to attend next meeting, Davidson appeared before the presbytery at Haddington, on the 29th of March. On the 5th. of April, it was attested to the presbytery, that he was "stayit be ane heaveie fever," and on the 12th of that month, "the presbyterie wt consent of his Maties commissioner continewit all farder dealing in this mater till y^e said Mr. Johne at the pleaso^r of God suld be restorit to his health." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington.)

of their commission, their name, their revenues, and the restrictions necessary to prevent them from abusing their powers. But the proposal of them excited so much dissatisfaction, that the King, dreading, from the feeling that began to be displayed, that he would lose the ground which he had already gained, deemed it prudent to put off the discussion. It was therefore appointed that the presbyteries should immediately take the subject under consideration; that they should report their opinions to their respective provincial synods; and that each synod should nominate three delegates, who, along with the theological professors, should hold a conference, in the presence of his Majesty, on the points which the Assembly had left undetermined. If they were unanimous, the resolutions to which they came were to be final; if not, the whole matter was to be referred to the next General Assembly*.

The resolutions in all the southern presbyteries and synods evinced the greatest jealousy of episcopacy, and a disposition to confine the powers of the voter in parliament within the narrowest possible bounds. Yet matters were so craftily conducted by the agents of the court, in concert with such of the ministers as were secretly in their interest, that the delegates chosen for the conference were, in several instances, of opposite views to those of their consti-

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 188—192. Cald. v. 301—325. Melville's Diary, pp. 329, 330. And his History of the Declining Age, pp. 13—18. Spotswood, pp. 450—452.

tuments *. Perceiving this, disapproving of the whole scheme, and convinced that no restrictions would prevent it from issuing in the establishment of episcopacy, there were individuals who thought it safest to stand aloof, and to take no part in the subordinate arrangements. Among these was James Melville. But his uncle was of a different mind. He was quite aware of the policy which permitted him to take part in private and extrajudicial conferences, while he was excluded from the public assemblies in which the points in debate were to be ultimately and authoritatively determined. But he deemed it of consequence to encourage his brethren by his presence, and to interpose every obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of a measure so injurious to the interests of the church. Accordingly, he gave faithful attendance on all the meetings of the conference †.

The result of the first meeting, held at Falkland, was so dissatisfactory to the King, that he prorogued the General Assembly which had been appointed to meet at Aberdeen in July, 1599. Other meetings were held ; but they were chiefly occupied in desultory conversation, or in attempts to lull asleep the most vigilant of the church's guardians by artful professions, and proposals for removing, what were

* Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, May 30, 1598. Rec. of Provincial Synod of Lothian, June, 1598. Melville's Diary, pp. 330, 331.

† Melville's Diary, p. 331.

called, unreasonable and unfounded jealousies *. Melville took a leading part in an interesting debate which occurred in November, 1599, at a meeting of the conference, assisted by ministers from the different quarters of the country, convened by royal missives in the palace of Holyroodhouse. One design of calling this meeting appears to have been, to ascertain the arguments which were to be used in opposition to the vote in parliament, that so the court party might be prepared to meet them in the next General Assembly. In opening the conference the King signified, that all were at liberty to reason on the subject at large, including the points which had been determined, as well as those which had been left undecided, at last assembly; but that such as refused to state their objections at present should forfeit their right to bring them forward at a subsequent period. Accordingly, the lawfulness of ministers sitting in parliament came first under discussion. And here the debate turned chiefly on the following question—"Is it consistent with the nature of their office, its duties, and the directions of Scripture about it, for ministers of the gospel to undertake a civil function?"

By those who maintained the affirmative it was argued, That, as the gospel does not destroy civil policy, so it does not hinder any of those who profess it from discharging political duties: That when ministers are enjoined "not to entangle themselves

* Cald. v. 371. Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, p. 19.

with the affairs of this life," they are not prohibited from discharging civil offices any more than the duties of natural economy and domestic life : That there are approved examples in scripture of sacred and civil offices being united in the same person : That ministers were as much distracted from the duties of their office by the visitation of churches and waiting on meetings for fixing stipends, as they would be by sitting in parliaments and conventions of estates : That it was allowed by all that ministers might wait on his Majesty and give him their advice in matters of state : That as free men and citizens, ministers were entitled to be represented as well as the other orders in the state : That the General Assembly had often craved a vote in Parliament : And that ecclesiastical persons had sitten in that court ever since the Reformation.

In the negative it was argued, That, though the gospel by no means destroys civil policy, yet all political laws which are inconsistent with it, or which interfere with any of its institutions, are unlawful : That the duties of natural and domestic economy are altogether different from those which belong to public offices in society : That when the apostle prohibits ministers from " entangling themselves with the affairs of this life," he puts his meaning out of doubt, by referring, as an illustration, to the case of a soldier, who must renounce and avoid all worldly occupations, that he may devote himself to the military life and entirely please and obey his commander : That the duties of the ministerial office

are so great and manifold, and the injunctions to constant and unremitting diligence in discharging them so numerous, so solemn, and so urgent, that no minister who is duly impressed with these considerations will accept of another function which must engross much of his time and attention; and that it is criminal to throw temptations to this in his way: That the union of sacred and civil offices in certain individuals mentioned in scripture was extraordinary and typical; and when the Jewish polity was established, these offices were separated, and could not be lawfully held by the same persons: That the occasional visitation of churches is a part of the ministerial function: That if ministers are diverted from their pastoral duty by commissions for fixing stipends, this is owing to a defect in the establishment which they had long complained of, and for which the magistrates and their flocks must answer: That ministers, as such, do not form an order in the state, and that as citizens they are represented along with others by the commissioners of shires and burghs: That if the King and estates entrust ministers with the care of their souls, the latter may surely give credit to the former in what relates to their bodies: That no General Assembly before the last one had ever craved a vote for ministers in parliament: And that, ever since the church had condemned episcopacy, she had objected to bishops and other persons called ecclesiastical, sitting in the supreme court of the nation.

On this part of the debate, Melville deduced the

history of the gradual blending of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction under the papacy, by means of which the Roman Pontiff became at last so formidable, armed himself with the two swords, trampled on princes, and transferred crowns and kingdoms at his pleasure. "Take heed," said he, addressing James, "that you do not set up those who shall cast you or your successors down."

The second question which was brought forward related to the duration of the office. The court party were anxious that the clerical voter should hold his place *ad vitam aut culpam* : their opponents insisted that the place should be filled by annual election. The former argued, that no man would submit to the trouble and expense that must be incurred, if his continuance in office was precarious, or limited to a single year or a single parliament ; and that within so short a period persons could neither acquire the knowledge of law, nor bring any business which the church might entrust to them to a termination. It was replied by the latter, that they were at present deliberating on what was for the good of the church and commonwealth, and not on what might be agreeable or profitable to individuals ; that by continuing in the employment ministers would acquire more knowledge of the laws of men, but less of those of God, more acquaintance with the wiles of worldly policy, and less with the sincerity of the wisdom which is from above ; and that the General Assembly was more capable of attending to the real interests of the church than a

few men, who, if a judgment might be formed from experience, would be chiefly occupied in securing their own wealth and aggrandizement. The hurtful consequences of their continuing in office during life or good behaviour were insisted on at great length. It would secularize their minds ; it would induce a habitual neglect of the duties of their spiritual function ; it would, in spite of all checks which might be imposed, gradually raise them to superiority over their brethren, and make them independent of the ecclesiastical courts ; although the church should depose them for improper conduct, yet if they happened to please his Majesty, he would maintain them in their place by his royal authority or by his influence in the General Assembly ; and being secured in their lordships and livings they would seek to revenge their quarrel, by injuring the church, or such of their brethren as curbed their ambition and complained of their misconduct. " There is no fear," said the King, " but you will all prove true enough to your craft." " God make us all true enough to Christ," replied Melville. " There is nothing so good but it may be suspected, and thus you will be content with nothing." " We doubt the goodness of the thing, and have but too much reason to suspect its evil." " His Majesty and the parliament will not admit the voters otherwise than for life ; and if you do not agree to this, you will lose the benefit." " The loss will be small." " Ministers then will lie in contempt and poverty." " It was their Master's case before them : better poverty

with sincerity, than promotion with corruption." "Others will be promoted to the place, who will oppress and ruin the church; for his Majesty will not want his third estate." "Then let Christ, the King of the church, avenge her wrongs: he has done so before."

The title to be given to the voter in Parliament formed the next topic of debate. Those who spoke the language of the court insisted that he should have the name of *bishop*. "If we are agreed in the substance," said they, "the name is of little consequence; and as the parliament has restored the title of bishop, and may refuse to admit the representative of the church under any other designation, it would be a pity to lose a privilege which his Majesty has procured with such great pains and difficulty, through scrupulosity about a name, which, after all, is scriptural." To this Melville replied ironically: "No doubt the name *episcopos* or *bishop* is scriptural; and why should it not be given? But as something additional to the office of the scripture-bishop is to be allotted to our new parliament-men, I would propose to eke a little to the name, and this shall be scriptural also. Let us baptize them by the name which the apostle Peter gives to such officers, and call them *allotrio-episcopoi*, *busy-bishops*, who meddle with matters foreign to their calling." In earnest he replied, that the word bishop was applied in the scriptures indiscriminately to all ministers of the gospel; that in common speech it was now understood as the discriminative appella-

tion of those who claimed a superiority of office and power, as in the churches of Rome and England ; that for good reasons the use of it had been laid aside and prohibited in the church of Scotland ; that those to whom it was now proposed to give it were to occupy the places to which ecclesiastical pre-eminence had been attached ; the title was calculated to feed their vanity and lust of power ; and being accustomed to be saluted as lords at court and in parliament, they would soon begin to look sour on such as refused to give them their honorary titles in the church.

Night put an end to the debate. Next morning Lindsay, who acted as moderator, recapitulated what had been done on the preceding day in such a way as to insinuate that the heads which had been under consideration were settled agreeably to the wishes of the court. A murmur of disapprobation spread through the assembly ; and several members rose and declared that their scruples against the main proposal, so far from being weakened, were greatly strengthened by the discussion of yesterday. Melville made an earnest and solemn appeal to the moderator. He reminded him, that he was one of the oldest ministers of the church, and had been present at many assemblies in which these very points had, after the most grave and deliberate discussion, been unanimously decided. And he asked him, how he could for a moment imagine, that any one who was settled in his judgment could be moved to alter it by so light a conference as the present, in which

scripture might be said to have been profaned rather than solidly and reverently handled. His Majesty took offence at this last expression, and courteously gave the speaker the lie. Melville replied, that he had included himself in the censure, and did not mean to confine it to one side of the house. Finding that he had gained nothing, James broke off the conference in a fret. In dismissing the members, he said that he had been induced by the commissioners of the church to call this meeting for the satisfaction of such as had scruples, in the hopes that matters would proceed peaceably and harmoniously ; but he perceived men to be so full of their own conceits, and so pre-occupied in their judgments, as not to yield to reason, and would therefore leave the matter to be determined by the General Assembly. If they received the favour offered them, he would ratify their conclusions with his civil sanction, and none should be allowed to speak against them : if they refused it, they would have themselves to blame for sinking still deeper and deeper into poverty. As for himself, he could not want one of his estates, but would use his authority in putting into the vacant bishoprics persons who would accept of them, and who would do their duty to him and to his kingdom *.

* Melville's Diary, pp. 333—344. James Melville committed the reasonings at this conference to writing while his recollection of them was fresh. The whole of his account is copied into Calderwood's MS. and large extracts from it may be seen in Printed Calderwood, pp. 428—434.

The General Assembly which met at Montrose on the 28th of March, 1600, excited greater interest than had been felt at any meeting of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory for many years *. All were convinced that upon its decision it depended whether the presbyterian constitution should stand, or should yield to the gradual encroachments of prelacy under the protection of the royal supremacy. The attendance of members was full, and sanguine hopes of success were entertained by both parties. The defenders of the establishment confided in the goodness of their cause, and in the evident superiority in point of argument which they had maintained at the last conference. Their opponents were equally confident that they would prevail by address and the powerful interest of the crown.

The presbytery of St. Andrews having chosen him as one of their representatives, Melville determined again to assert his right to a seat in the General Assembly. It was no sooner known that he had come to Montrose than he was sent for by the King. His Majesty asked him why he was so troublesome, by persisting to attend on assemblies after he had prohibited him. He replied, that he had a

* Row mentions, that this assembly was " notified only be sound of trumpet att the crosse of Edr and other neidful places, whereat many good Christians wondered att, seing y^r was never the lyke before." (Hist. p. 78.)—It was appointed at this time that the beginning of the year should henceforth be reckoned from the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March. (Record of Privy Council, Dec. 17, 1599.)

commission from the church, and behoved to discharge it under the pain of incurring the displeasure of one who was greater than any earthly monarch. Recourse was then had to menaces, but they served only to rouse Melville's spirit. On quitting the royal apartment, he put his hand to his throat, and said, "Sir, is it *this* you would have? You shall have it before I betray the cause of Christ." He was not allowed to take his seat in the judicatory; but it was judged unadvisable to order him out of the town, as had been done on a former occasion. He accordingly remained, and assisted his brethren with his advice during the sitting of the assembly*.

The debate on the propriety of ministers voting in Parliament was resumed; and a formidable train of arguments, including those which had been used in the conference at Holyroodhouse, was brought forward against the measure. In support of these a paper was given in, consisting of extracts from the writings of reformed divines and of the fathers, with the decisions of the most ancient and renowned General Councils. Unable to reply to these arguments and authorities, the advocates of the measure were forced to abandon the ground which they had taken up during the late conferences. They granted the force of the general reasoning used by their opponents, but insisted that it was not applicable to the case. They affected now to condemn

* Melville's Diary, p. 362. Hist. of the Declining State of the Church, pp. 24, 25.

the union of sacred and civil offices ; and pleaded that the ministers who were to sit in Parliament would have no civil charge, but were merely to be present in that high court to watch over the interests of the church, and give their advice in matters of importance. When it was urged by their opponents that the ecclesiastical voter must be employed in making laws for the whole kingdom, they took refuge under one of the weakest and worst of James's political maxims, that it is the King alone who makes laws, and the estates merely give him their advice. In answer to the appeal which the defenders of Presbytery made to the words of the act of parliament restoring the " office, estate, and dignity of bishops," they asserted that the objectionable language had been purposely introduced into the act by those who wished to keep the church in poverty, in the hopes that it would induce the ministers to reject the favour which his Majesty had procured for them. This plea could not bear examination ; and therefore a stop was put to the dangerous discussion by a message from the King, stating, that the last General Assembly had already decided this point, and its decision behoved to stand. Had it been allowed to put the general question to the vote, there is reason to think that the whole scheme would have been negatived. For on the question, whether the parliamentary voters should retain their place for life or be annually elected, it was carried, in spite of all the influence of the court, by a majority of three in favour of annual election. Yet,

by collusion between the clerk and the King, the minute was so drawn up as to express a resolution materially eversive of that which had passed, and in this altered form an approbation of it was procured at the close of the assembly.

To induce the members to acquiesce in the unpopular measure, the court party agreed to the ratification of all the articles and cautions which had been proposed in the conference at Falkland, with the view of protecting the liberties of the church, and guarding against the introduction of episcopacy. They did not even object to the addition of others still more strict. The voters were to have the name, not of Bishops, but Commissioners of the church in Parliament. As to their election, it was agreed, that the General Assembly, with the advice of synods and presbyteries, should nominate six individuals in each province, from which number his Majesty should choose one as the ecclesiastical representative of that province. For his emoluments he was to be allowed the rents of the benefice to which he should be presented, after the churches, colleges, and schools, had been provided for out of them. The following cautions, or "caveats," as they were called, were enacted to prevent him from abusing his power : That he should not presume to propose any thing to parliament, convention, or council, in the name of the church, without her express warrant and direction ; nor consent to the passing of any act prejudicial to the church, under the pain of deposition from his office : That, at each

General Assembly, he should give an account of the manner in which he had discharged his commission, and submit, without appeal, to the censure of the assembly, under the pain of infamy and excommunication : That he should rest satisfied with the part of the benefice allotted to him, without encroaching upon what was assigned to other ministers within his province : That he should not dilapidate his benefice, nor dispose of any part of its rents without the consent of the General Assembly : That he should perform all the duties of the pastoral office within his own particular congregation, subject to the censure of the presbytery and provincial synod to which he belonged : That in the exercise of discipline, the collation of benefices, the visitation of churches, and all other parts of ecclesiastical government, he should claim no more power or jurisdiction than what belonged to other ministers, under the pain of deprivation : That in meetings of presbytery and of other church courts, he should behave himself in all things, and be subject to censure, in the same manner as his brethren : That he should have no right to sit in the General Assembly without a commission from his presbytery : That, if deposed from the office of the ministry, he should lose his vote in parliament, and his benefice should become vacant : And that he should incur the same loss upon being convicted of having solicited the office. It was ordained, that these "caveats" should be inserted, "as most necessary and substantial points," in the body of an act of parliament to be made for confirming the

church's vote ; and that every commissioner should subscribe and swear to observe them when he was admitted to his function *.

It is scarcely possible to conceive regulations better adapted to prevent the evils which were dreaded. But the strictest cautions, sanctioned by the most sacred promises, were feeble ties on an unprincipled court, and perfidious churchmen, who were ready to sacrifice both honour and conscience to the gratification of their avarice and ambition.

*Mille adde catenas,
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.*

An early proof of this was given. A meeting of the commissioners of the General Assembly, and delegates from synods, was held in the month of October following, in consequence of a letter from the King desiring their advice respecting the settlement of ministers in Edinburgh, and "such other things as shall be thought good to be proposed in the name of the church for the weal of our and their estate at our first parliament." Dreading the opposition of James Melville and two other ministers, his Majesty got them appointed on a committee to transact some business ; and during their absence, he, with the consent of those present, summarily nominated David Lindsay, Peter Blackburn, and

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 193, 194. Cald. v. 414—440. Melville's Diary, pp. 349—362. Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 19—25. Forbes's History, pp. 23—26. Spotswood, 453, 457, 458.

George Gladstanes, to the vacant bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. This transaction was carefully concealed from the absent members until the meeting was dissolved. And the bishops appointed in this clandestine manner sat and voted in the ensuing parliament, in direct violation of the cautions to which they had so lately given their consent *.

Archbishop Spotswood was under the necessity of inserting the cautions in his History, and he was forced to acknowledge, what was then notorious to all the world, that "it was neither the King's intention, nor the mind of the wiser sort, to have these cautions stand in force; but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the policy" (that is, the introduction of episcopacy) "made without any noise, the King gave way to these conceits †." The archbishop calls the ministers who acted this part "the wiser sort;" forgetting, perhaps, that this species of wisdom, however much it may be "esteemed among men, is abomination with God." They were suffered to triumph for a while in the success of their knavery; but he who "taketh the wise in their own craftiness," visited them at length

* Their presentations were dated the 5th Nov. 1600. (Reg. of Present. to Benef. vol. iii. f. 30.) On the 30th Dec. 1600, David Lindsay, bishop of Ross, was admitted to be "ane of the counsail;" and on the 24th Nov. 1602, Mr. George Gladstanes, bishop of Caithness, was admitted, "be his Maiestie's direction and command." (Record of Privy Council.)

† Hist. p. 454.

with merited retribution ; and the violation of these very cautions, which had been ratified by the King, sworn to by the bishops *, and never repealed by any ecclesiastical authority, formed one of the chief grounds upon which the archbishop and his colleagues were afterwards deposed and excommunicated by the General Assembly †.

His Majesty was present at all the assemblies in which this affair was discussed, and gave the most religious attendance on every session. He did not even miss a single meeting of the privy conference. During the sitting of the General Assembly, affairs of state were entirely neglected, and the court was converted into a clerical levee. The privy counselors complained, that they could not have access to their master on account of the crowd of preachers which continually thronged his cabinet. In the public deliberations and debates he directed and decided every thing in his double capacity of disputant and umpire. Those who wish to perceive the glory of James's reign must carefully attend to this part of its history. It was at this time that he found a

* " It was layed to the charge of Mr. John Spottiswood, appointed Bishop of Glasgow thereafter in Anno 1605, before his Maj. be the lord Balmerinoch, President, that he had sworn to observe the Caveats, and had obliged himself to subscribe them. Neither could his Maj. be well satisfied with him in that matter untill he had procured an Act of the Presbyterie of Glasgow testifying that he had not subscribed them, whilk he presented to his Maj. for his defence ; as though his oath had been nothing as long as he did not subscribe." (Forbes's History, p. 27.)

† Acts of the General Assembly, Anno 1638, Sess. 20.

stage on which he could exert his distinguishing talent, and "stick the doctor's chair into the throne." It was at this time that he acquired that skill in points of divinity, and in the management of ecclesiastical meetings, which afterwards filled the English bishops with both "admiration and shame," and made them cry out that they verily thought he was "inspired." Never did this wise monarch appear to such great advantage, as when, surrounded with "his own northern men," he canvassed for votes with all the ardour and address of a candidate for a borough; or when, presiding in the debates of the General Assembly, he kept the members to the question, regaled them with royal wit, calling one "a seditious knave," and another, "a liar;" saying to one speaker, "that's witch-like," and to another, "that's anabaptistical," instructed the clerk in the true geographical mode of calling the roll, or taking him home to his closet, helped him to correct the minutes*.

* Cald. v. 320, 399, 571. At the General Assembly in May, 1597, an ordinance was made, (says James Melville) "that at the penning of everie act ther sould be certean brether wt the clark, whereof I was an and Mr. James Nicolsone an uther. But whill as I cam till attend, thay war commandit to com to the king with the minutes: and sa I gat na access." (Diary, 312.) James Melville (Ib. p. 362.) subjoins the following verse, probably from an old poem, to his account of the proceedings at this time:

The Dron, the Doungeoun and the Draught
 Did mak their cannon of the King:
 Syn feirfully with ws they faught,
 And down to dirt they did ws ding.

During these transactions several occurrences of a subordinate kind took place, to which it may be proper to advert. The church suffered a severe loss by the death of a number of her distinguished ministers. The end of the year 1598 proved fatal to David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, whose integrity, united with an uncommon vein of good-humoured wit, made him a favourite with all classes *. Thomas Buchanan, Provost of Kirkheuch, and minister of Ceres, died suddenly in the course of the following year, lamented by those who knew his worth and talents, though they disapproved of his public conduct during the last two years of his life †.

* He died at "the age of 65." (Spotswood, p. 455.) John Jonston fixes his death on the 23d of August, 1598. (Life of Knox, ii. 445.) To his works mentioned in the Life of Knox (vol. ii. note E.) may be added the following: "An Ansuer to ane Epistle written by Renat Benedict, the French Doctor Professor of Gods word (as the Translator of the Epistle calleth him) to John Knox & the rest of his brethren ministers of the word of God made by David Feargussone minister of the same word at this present in Dunfermling—Imprinted at Edinbrough by Robert Lekprevik, 1563." Black letter, 12mo. 43 leaves. The running title is: "Ane answer to Renat Be. Epistle." In reply to the accusation that the object of the reforming ministers was to "get and gather riches," Ferguson says: "the greatest number of vs haue liued in great penurie, without all stiped some tuelf moneth, some eight, and some half a year, hauing nothing in the mean time to susteane our selues and our families, but that which we haue borrowed of charitable persones vntil God send it to vs to repay them." Foll. 6, 7. This was written "the 26th April, 1562." The translation of Renat's Epistle was by Winzet, and at that time, probably, was only in MS.

† Melville's Diary, p. 328. Spotswood (Hist. p. 455.) fixes his death, incorrectly, in the year 1598.—"1599. Apr. 12. M. Thomas Buchquhanan diet." (The Laird of Carnbee's Diary. Append. to

But the death most deeply deplored was that of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who was prematurely cut off in the prime of life and in the midst of extensive usefulness. His piety, his suavity of temper, his benevolence, and his talents as a writer and teacher of youth, were universally admired by his countrymen; and those who were offended at some parts of his public conduct traced them to his guileless simplicity and constitutional aversion to every thing that wore the appearance of strife or might lead to confusion *. About the same time the country was deprived of one of its ablest statesmen, John Lindsay of Balcarras, "for natural judgement and learning the

Lamont's Diary, p. 383.) That this is the true date appears from his Testament. "Item, I grant and confess that the haill buiks quhilk are presentlie in my possessioun pertains to Mr. Ro^t Buchanan, (my brothers son) and that I borrowed the same fra him." He died rich. (Testament Testamentar of Mr. Thomas Buchanan, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh.) On the 5th of May, 1599, "Euphame Hay relict of umq^{le} Mr. Thomas Buchquhannane" revoked a deed which she had made during her husband's sickness, and in which she had renounced the "conjunct fie of sik lands or annual rents as belangit to him." On the 20th June, "Jo. Buchquhannan (of Ballecraquhie) & Mr. Ro^t Buchquhannan, provost of Kirkheuch," appeared as executors of his testament. (Book of Acts of the Commissariot of St. Andrews.)

* Spotswood, 455. Melville's Diary, 320. He had merely completed the 43d year of his age when he died, "6 Idus Febr. anno 1589." (1598.) *Vitæ & mortis Roberti Rolloci Scoti narratio. Scripta per Georgium Robertsonum. Edinburgi 1589.* (1598.) C in eights. Among the Epitaphs published by Robertson there is none by Melville, but an elegy by him is prefixed to a life of Rollock written in Latin by Henry Charteris, who succeeded him as Principal. (MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin.)

greatest light of the policy and council of Scotland *." In the beginning of the year 1600, the zealous and upright John Dury, minister of Montrose, died in a manner becoming the life which he had spent. Having held an interview with the magistrates of the town and the elders of his session, and left advices to be imparted to the King and ministers at the approaching General Assembly, he inquired after the day of the month, and being told that it was the last of February, "O! then," exclaimed he, "the last day of my wretched pilgrimage! and the morrow the first of my rest and glory!" And, laying his head on his eldest son's breast, placidly expired. Melville, who entertained a high esteem of Dury's honesty and goodness of heart, honoured the memory of his friend by his verses †. In the end of the same year, the celebrated John

* Melville's Diary, 328. Lindsay died Sept. 3, 1598. (Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 285.) He was Secretary of State, and, for several years before his death, Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews. Melville addressed a playful poem to him, in the form of a petition from the university. (*Delitiæ Poet. Scot.* ii. 121.) I have an original letter from Melville, "To my verie guid Lord my lord Secretar L. Chanceler of the Vniversitie of Sanctandros." It has no date, but appears to have been written some years before Lindsay's death. Among other things, it contains observations on the best remedies for the stone, the disease which proved fatal to his lordship.

† One of his epitaphs on him is printed (*Melvini Musæ*, p. 11.): others are preserved in MS. (*Melville's Diary*, pp. 345—347.) The account which James Melville has given of his father-in-law's dying advice to the ministers, (*Diary*, 344, 345,) is completely at variance with that of Spotswood. (*History* 458.) He died on the 25th of Feb. 1600. Marion Marjoribanks was his relict, and John and Simeon, his sons. (Test. Testamentar, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh.)

Craig, who had been for a considerable time incapacitated for any public service, terminated his days at the advanced age of eighty-eight *.

The eager desire which James felt to secure his accession to the English throne induced him to adopt measures which gave much offence to his subjects. With the view of conciliating the Roman Catholics, he sent a secret embassy to the Pope. The odium of the letter addressed in his name to his Holiness, was afterwards thrown on his Secretary; but it has been suspected, not without some reason, that James acted the same part to Lord Balmerino in this affair, which Elizabeth did to Secretary Davidson respecting the execution of Queen

* Spotswood, 462—464. In May, 1594, the King caused it to be intimated to the General Assembly that “ Mr. Joⁿ Craig is awaiting w^t houre it sall please God to call him and is altogether vnable to serve any longer.” (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 176, a.) He died on the 12th of Dec. 1600; and left Marion Smail, his spouse, and Mr. William Craig, his son, executors, who were appointed to take the advice of Mr. Thomas Craig, advocate. He requested “ his haille bairnes to remain in househald with thair mother while thair marriage with parties honest.” (Test. Testamentar, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh.) I do not know whether the work referred to in the following minute of Assembly, (August 12, 1590,) was published: “ Ordaines ye brether of the pbrie of Ed^r to peruse ye ans^r sett out be Mr. Craig against a pernicious wrytting put out against the confessioun of faith, together with the preface made be Mr. Joⁿ davidson, and if they find meitt the samen be published that they may be committit to prent.” (Ibid. f. 161.) On the “ penult Maij” 1592, Craig’s Catechism, “ quhilk now is allowit and imprintit,” was ordained to be “ read in families,” and “ red and leirnit in lecture schooles in place of the litle catechisme.” (Ibid. f. 163, b.)

Mary *. With the view of gratifying the Pope, and procuring his support to the King's title, a project was set on foot to grant a toleration to the Papists in Scotland †. And Archbishop Beaton was not only appointed ambassador at the court of France, but restored to the temporalities of the see of Glasgow ‡. These steps, though taken with great secrecy and caution, did not escape the vigilance of the ministers §.

The literary works which James produced at this time contributed to strengthen the opposition to his

* Printed Cald. pp. 426, 427, 604. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. iv. p. 66.

† Cald. v. 548. It would seem that James had a work on this subject ready for the press. "The king at this time (June 1601) promised to Mr. John Hall, that the book called a declaration of the King's minde toward the catholicks should never be sett furth." (Ibid. p. 591.)

‡ The act of convention, penult. Junij 1598, was ratified by Parliament in 1600. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 169, 256.) Keith says, that, in 1588, the King did, by Act of Parliament, "restore the old exauctorate and forfeited bishop Beaton to the temporality of the see of Glasgow, which he did enjoy until his death on the — April, 1603." (Scottish Bishops, p. 156.) This is a mistake. It is true, that Beaton was not excepted from the benefit of the Act of Parliament 1587, rescinding all forfeitures since 1561. But this "restitutioun remainit not lang effectuell in his persoun, be reasone he failzeit in geving the confessioun of his faith and acknowlegeing of o^r souerane lordis auctie, as was ordainit be ye said restitutioun." (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 624.) When James was threatening to revenge his mother's death, he proposed to make Beaton his ambassador. (Courcelles's Dispatches, March 8, and 14, 1587.)

§ The Presbytery of Edinburgh applied for a copy of the act respecting Beaton; but were referred from the clerk of council to the clerk of register, and from the latter to Mr. Alexander Hay. (Record of Presb. Julij 4, 11, and 18, 1598.)

administration. In 1598 he published his *True Law of Free Monarchies*. We must not imagine that by a "free monarchy" was meant any thing like what the expression suggests to us. It meant a government exercised by a monarch who is free from all restraint or control, or, as the author fitly denominates him, "a free and absolute monarch." The treatise is, in fact, an unvarnished vindication of arbitrary power in the prince, and of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the people, without any exception or reservation whatever. The royal politician graciously allows, that princes owe a duty to their subjects, but he thinks it "not needing to be long" in the declaration of it. He grants, that a king should consider himself as ordained for the good of his people; but then, if he shall think and act otherwise, and choose, as too many kings have chosen, to run the risk of divine punishment, the people are not permitted to "make any resistance but by flight," as we may see by "the example of brute beasts and unreasonable creatures," among whom "we never read or heard of any resistance" to their parents, "except among the vipers." A free monarch can make statutes as he thinks meet without asking the advice of parliaments or states, and can suspend parliamentary laws for reasons known to himself only. "A good king will frame all his actions according to the law, yet is he not bound thereto but of his good will: although he be above the law, he will subject and frame his actions there-

to for example's sake to his subjects, and of his own free will, but not as subject or bound thereto." In confirmation of this doctrine, James appeals to Samuel's description of a king, and quotes and expounds, with the utmost confidence and complacency, the account which that prophet gave the Israelites of the oppressions which they would suffer under a form of government on which they fondly doated.

Such was "the true pattern of divinity" which James found himself constrained in duty to publish, for the correction of "our so long disordered commonwealth," and for the instruction of his future subjects in that which it was most necessary for them to know, "next to the knowledge of their God." He at least dealt honestly with the people of England, who had already begun to worship the rising sun; and in welcoming him so cordially and unconditionally, as they afterwards did, when he had plainly told them beforehand that they were to be governed as a conquered kingdom, they might fairly be considered as addressing him in the language which he puts into the mouths of the Hebrews: "All your speeches and hard conditions will not skarre us, but we will take the good and evil of it upon us; and we will be content to beare whatsoever burden it shall please our King to lay upon us, as well as other nations do." If they were disappointed of the benefit which they expected to "get of him in fighting their battles," they had themselves to blame, as he never gave large pro-

mises on that head. But he performed for them services of a more valuable kind, as "the great schoolmaster of the whole land," according to his own description of his office. He taught them a "style utterly unknown to the ancients;" banished the writings of Calvin, Buchanan, Ponet, and such like "apologies for rebellions and treasons," which had obtained too great authority among them*; and furnished orthodox text-books, from which the orators of "Cam and Isis" might "preach the right divine of kings to govern wrong †."

The presbyterians of Scotland could not conceal their disapprobation of the political principles of the Law of Free Monarchies ‡. This was one reason of their being treated with such severity in the celebrated *Basilicon Doron*, or Instructions of the King to his son Prince Henry, which came to light in the course of the following year. Fond of seeing this work in print, and yet conscious that it would give great offence, James was anxious to keep it from the knowledge of his native subjects, until circumstances should enable him to publish it with

* King James's Works, pp. 204, 205.

† "Mr. George Herbert, being Prelector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridg anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which he analysed, shewed the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move the affections, the style utterly unknown to the ancients, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence was, in respect of which these noted demagogi were but hirelings and triobolary rhetoricians." (Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, Part I. p. 175.)

‡ Cald. v. 365.

safety. With this view "the printer being first sworn to secrecy," says he, "I only permitted seven of them to be printed, and these seven I dispersed among some of my trustiest servants to be kept closely by them *." Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, one of the courtiers, shewed his copy to Melville, with whom he was on a footing of intimacy. Having extracted some of the principal propositions in the work, Melville sent them to his nephew, whose colleague, John Dykes, laid them before the provincial synod of Fife. The synod judged them to be of the most pernicious tendency, and not believing, or affecting not to believe, that they could proceed from the high authority to which they were attributed, sent them to his Majesty. An order was immediately issued for the apprehension of Dykes, who absconded †. The propositions laid before the synod were the following: That the office of a king is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical: That a principal part of his function consists in ruling the church: That it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text, and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such cases ought to be capitally punished: That no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent: That no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan: That parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy,

* See Note C.

† Melville's Diary, 331. Cald. 337, 338. Spotswood, 437.

inimical to order, and the mother of confusion : That puritans had been a pest to the commonwealth and church of Scotland, wished to engross the civil government as tribunes of the people, sought the introduction of democracy into the state, and quarrelled with the King because he was a king : That the chief persons among them should not be allowed to remain in the land : in fine, That parity in the church should be banished, episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops rigorously punished. Such were the sentiments which James entertained, and which he had printed, at the very time that he was giving out that he had no intention of altering the government of the church, or of introducing episcopacy. It is easy to conceive what effect this discovery must have produced on the minds of the presbyterian ministers. And were it not that we know that a sense of shame has but a feeble influence on princes and statesmen, and that they never want apologists for their worst actions, it would be confounding to think that either the King or his agents should have been so barefaced as after this to repeat their protestations.

Finding that the work gave great offence, James afterwards published an edition of the *Doron*, accompanied with an apologetical preface. His apology, as might be expected, is extremely awkward and unsatisfactory. Too timid to avow his real meaning, and too obstinate to retract what he had advanced, he has recourse to equivocation, and to explanations glaringly at variance with the text.

The opprobrious name of *puritans*, he allows, was properly applicable only to those called the *Family of Love*, who arrogated to themselves an exclusive and sinless purity. To gain credit to his assertion that he alluded chiefly to such persons, he alleges that Brown, Penry, and other Englishmen had, when in Scotland, "sown their popple," and that certain "brainsick and heady preachers" had imbibed their spirit; although he could not but know that these rigid sectaries were unanimously opposed by the Scottish ministers, and that the only countenance which they received was from himself and his courtiers *. The following acknowledgment deserves particular notice, as it ascertains an important fact, and enables us to judge of the policy of the course which James was at present pursuing. Speaking of the ministers, he says, "There is presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdome; and yet are they ALL known to be against the form of the English church." And again, speaking of the charge of puritanism, he says, "I protest upon mine honour that I mean it not generally of all preachers, or others, that like better of the single form of policy in our church than of the many ceremonies of the church of England, that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy, that the surplice, cornered cap, and such like, are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things,

* See before, vol. i. p. 236.

(which for my own part I ever esteemed indifferent) as I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions. It can no ways become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence in so old a controversy. We all (God be praised) do agree in the grounds, and the bitterness of men upon such questions doth but trouble the peace of the church, and gives advantage and entry to the papists by our division *." Such is the language of one who spent a great part of his life in agitating these very questions, who was at that time employed in imposing these very forms upon a church, which, according to his own acknowledgment, was decidedly and unanimously averse to them, and who, in this very publication, lays injunctions on his son to prosecute the scheme after his death!

It has been said, that this work contributed more to smoothen his accession than all the books written in defence of his title to the English crown. But the facts respecting its publication do not accord with this theory †. Though an impartial examina-

* *Basilicon Doron*, *To the Reader*, A 5, 6. Lond. 1603. King James's Works, p. 144. What truth there was in all this, James has himself told us in another of his writings: "That Bishops ought to be in the church, I ever maintained as an Apostolike institution, and so the ordinance of God;—so was I ever an enemy to the confused anarchie or parity of the puritans, as well appeareth in my *Basilicon Doron*.—I that in my said book to my son do speak tenn times more bitterly of them (the puritans) nor of papists—I that for the space of six years before my coming into England laboured nothing so much as to deposite their paritie, and re-erect Bishops againe." (*Premonition to the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, pp. 44, 45.)

† See Note C.

tion of its contents will not justify the high encomiums passed upon it *, yet its literary merits are not contemptible. It is more free from childish and disgusting pedantry than any other of James's writings, and contains many good advices, mingled, however, with not a few silly prejudices.

A careful comparison of the *Law of Free Monarchies* and the *Basilicon Doron* throws no small light on the history of the time. It points out the true ground of the strong antipathies which James felt to the presbyterian ministers, and ascertains the meaning of his favourite ecclesiastico-political aphorism, *No Bishop, no King*.

The affair of the Gowrie Conspiracy, which occurred in the first year of the seventeenth century, proved injurious to the church, as well as vexatious to individual ministers. For not giving thanks for his Majesty's deliverance in the very words which the court dictated on the first intimation of the occurrence, the ministers of Edinburgh were called before the Privy Council †; and having acknowledged, in answer to the inquisitorial demands put to

* Bishop of Winton's Preface to King James's Works, sig. d. Spotswood, p. 475. Walton's Lives, Zouch's edit. p. 296.

† Spotswood says that the council told the ministers, when they were first sent for, "that they were only to signify how the king had escaped a great danger, and to stir up the people to thanksgiving;" but "by no persuasion they could be moved to perform that duty." (Hist. p. 461.) According to every other statement which I have examined, the ministers declared their readiness to do this, and merely declined to testify that his Majesty had been delivered "from a vile treason."

them, that they were not completely convinced of the treason of Gowrie, although they revered the King's narrative, five of them were removed from the capital, and prohibited from preaching in Scotland. Four of these soon after submitted, and each was enjoined to profess his belief of the conspiracy, and his sorrow for his error and incredulity, in several churches, according to the penance imposed upon persons who were chargeable with the most heinous offences *. Bruce alone refused, and was banished †. Being subsequently recalled from France, he signified that his doubts were in a great measure removed, but still refused to make a public profession of his faith in the words of the court, or to submit to the humiliating penance which it enjoined. As a subject, he said, he had never refused to do the duty of a subject ; but he did not feel himself at liberty to utter in the pulpit, under the authority of his office, any thing of which he was not fully persuaded. " I have a body and some goods," continued he, " let his Majesty use them as God shall direct him. But as to my inward peace, I would pray his Majesty in all humility to suffer me to keep

* James Balfour was appointed to make his confession within the towns of Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, and Brechin. (Record of Privy Council, Sept. 11, 1600.)

† Record of Privy Council, August 12, 31, Sept. 10, 11, 1600. Cald. v. 475, 492—495, 527—542. The minute of Council bears, that Bruce " still continewit doubtfull and nocht throwghlie resolut of the treasonabill and unnatural conspiracie ;" and that " it can nawyse stand with his hienes suirtie and honour that ony sic distrustfull personis salbe sufferit to remane within the cuntrey."

it. Place me where God placed me, and I shall teach as fruitful and wholesome doctrine to the honour of the magistrate as God shall give me grace. But to go through the country, and make proclamations here and there, will be counted either a beastly fear or a beastly flattery; and in so doing I should raise greater doubts, and do more harm than good to the cause; for people look not to words but grounds. And as for myself, I should be but a partial and sparing blazer of my own infirmities: others will be far better heralds of my ignominy*."

The truth is, that from the moment that Bruce was removed from Edinburgh, it was determined that he should never be allowed to return. He was tantalized for years with the hopes of being restored to his place. The terms proposed to him were either such as it was known he would reject, or they were evaded and withdrawn when he was ready to accede to them. And he was afterwards persecuted till his death by the mean jealousy of the bishops, who set spies on his conduct, sent informations to court against him, and procured orders to change the place of his confinement from time to time, and to drag him from one corner of the kingdom to another. The whole treatment which this independent minister received was disgraceful to the government. Granting that he gave way to scrupulosity—that he required a degree of evidence as to the guilt of Gowrie, which was not necessary to justify

* Cald. v. 599, 600. Crawford, i. 242.

the part which he was required to take in announcing it—that there was a mixture of pride in his motives, and that he stood too much on the point of honour, (concessions that some will not be disposed to make)—still the nice and high sense of integrity which he uniformly displayed, his great talents, and the eminent services which he had performed to church and state, not to speak of his birth and connexions, ought to have secured him very different treatment. But the court hated him for his fidelity, and dreaded his influence in counteracting its favourite plans. There was another consideration which rendered his pardon hopeless. James was conscious that he had deeply injured Bruce *. There is one proof of this which I shall state, as it affords a striking illustration of the deplorable state in which the administration of justice was at that time in the nation.

Bruce, when in favour with the court, had obtained a gift for life out of the lands of the abbey of Arbroath, which he had enjoyed for a number of years †. In the year 1598, the King privately dis-

* “ *Chi offende non pardonna ; et si jamais Prince a été de cette humeur, celui-ci est l'est ;* ” says the French ambassador, in representing the hopelessness of an application to James in behalf of the son of the Earl of Gowrie. (*Ambassades de M. de la Boderie*, tom. iii. p. 108.)

† The grant itself, which passed the seals on the 15th of October, 1589, speaks in the highest terms of the services which Bruce had done to the King, and to the whole church, “ be informing of his Mat^{tie} and counsall of sic thingis as concerns the weill therof and advancing and furthsetting the same baith in counsell and sessioun.” (*Register of Privy Seal*, vol. ix. fol. 68.) The money and victual

posed of this to Lord Hamilton. He first stirred up the tenants of the abbey to resist payment*, and when this expedient failed, he avowed the deed by which he had alienated the annuity. Bruce signified his willingness to renounce the grant, provided the King retained it in his own hands or applied it to the use of the church; but learning that it was to be bestowed on Lord Hamilton, he resolved to defend his right. His Majesty called down some of the Lords of Session to the palace, and sent his ring to others, and by threats and persuasions endeavoured to induce them to give a decision in favour of the crown. Their lordships, however, much to their credit, found Bruce's title to be valid and complete†. On this occasion James exhibited all the violence of an imbecile and undisciplined mind. Being in court when the cause was heard, and perceiving that it was likely to be decided contrary to his wishes, he interrupted the judges while they were delivering their opinions, and challenged them, in a passionate manner, for daring to give an opinion against him. Several of the lords rose, and said, that, with all reverence to his Majesty, unless

contained in the gift are regularly entered as his stipend in the Books of Assignment and Modification. One chalder of wheat and one of bear were given from it, with Bruce's express consent, to his colleague, Balcanquhal. (Book of Assignment for the year 1591.)

* Register of Decrees and Acts of the Commissariat of St. Andrews, Aug. 21, 1598, compared with Nov. 6, 1595.

† Action: Gilbert Auchterlonie in Bonitoun, &c. against Lord Hamilton and Mr. Robert Bruce; June 16, 1599. (Register of Acts and Decrees of the Court of Session, vol. clxxxiii. fol. 198.)

he removed them from their office, they both durst and would deliver their sentiments according to justice; and, with the exception of one judge, the whole bench voted against the party who had the royal support. James threatened the advocates who pleaded for Bruce *. He spoke of him on all occasions with the utmost asperity; charging him with stealing the hearts of his subjects, and saying, that, were it not for shame, he would "throw a whinger in his face." Determined to obtain his object, he "wakened the process," by means of two ministers in Angus to whom he transferred a part of the annuity. At a private interview, in the presence of Sir George Elphinston, his Majesty requested Bruce to "save his honour and he would not hurt him;" upon which a compromise was made, and sanctioned by the Lords of Session. But the King afterwards set this aside by his sole authority, altered the minute of the court, and threatened to hang the clerk if he gave an extract of it in its original and authentic form. Finding that he was to be deprived of the greater part of his annuity, and that the remainder was to be given him only during the royal pleasure, Bruce threw up the gift in disdain †.

The eagerness which James shewed to have the conspiracy of Gowrie believed, increased instead of removing the public incredulity. He issued a man-

* Bruce's counsel were Thomas Craig, John Russel, and James Donaldson.

† Cald. v. 363—367, 408—413.

date to change the weekly sermon in all towns to Tuesday, the day on which the event happened *. Not contented with the observance of a national thanksgiving on the occasion, he procured an act of parliament, ordaining, that the fifth day of August should be kept yearly "in all times and ages to come," by all his subjects, as a "perpetual monument of their most humble, hearty, and unfeigned thanks to God" for his "miraculous and extraordinary deliverance from the horrible and detestable murder and parricide attempted against his Majesty's most noble person †." This appointment was offensive on different grounds. It was an assumption on the part of the parliament, of the right of the church-courts to judge in what related to public worship. It was at variance with the principles of the church of Scotland, which, ever since the Reformation, had condemned and laid aside the observance of religious anniversaries, and of all recurring holidays, with the exception of the weekly rest. The appointment in question was liable to peculiar objections, as doubts were very generally entertained of the reality of the conspiracy to which it related; on which account ministers and people were annually forced either to offer mock thanks to the Almighty or to incur the resentment of the government. On this last ground, the English, accus-

* Record of Privy Council, Aug. 21, 1600. Record of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews, Aug. 24. Extracts from Record of Kirk Session of Glasgow, Sept. 25.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 213, 214.

tomed as they were to submit to such encroachments on their natural and religious liberty, murmured at the introduction of this new holiday *. Yet such influence had the King now obtained over the church-courts, that the General Assembly, held at Holyroodhouse in the year 1602, gave its sanction to the appointment; and thus exposed the church of Scotland to just reproach from her adversaries, as agreeing to keep an annual festival in commemoration of the deliverance of an earthly prince, while she refused this honour to the birth and death of her divine Saviour, and to some of the most interesting events in the history of Christianity †.

James Melville was one of those who refused to obey this act of parliament and assembly. He had concurred with the commissioners of the church and the synod of Fife in appointing a public thanksgiving immediately after the conspiracy ‡. But he

*. "Amongst a number of other novelties, he (James) brought a new holy-day into the church of England, wherein God had public thanks given him for his Majesties deliverance out of the hands of Earle Gourie: and this fell out upon the fifth of August, on which many lies were told either at home or abroad, in the quire of St. Pauls church or the Long Walk: For no Scotch man you would meet beyond sea but did laugh at it, and the peripatetique politicians said the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit." (Osborne's Hist. Memoirs: Secret History of the Court of James the First, vol. i. p. 276.) "The English (says Sir Anthony Welldon) believe as little the truth of that story as the Scots themselves did." (Ibid. p. 320.)

† Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 204, b.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 363. "At that tyme, (the end of August 1600,) being in Falkland, I saw a fuscambulus frenchman play

refused to keep the anniversary. The King summoned him and several of his brethren to answer for their disobedience, and threatened to proceed against them capitally if they declined the privy council; but having ascertained that they were determined to run all hazards, he satisfied himself with giving them a royal admonition in the presence of the commissioners of the General Assembly. It does not appear that the ministers were afterwards put to trouble on this head*.

It would seem that Melville was permitted to sit in the General Assembly which met at Burntisland in May, 1601 †. It was on this occasion that the King became again a covenanter, by publicly renewing his former vows. His embassy to the court of Rome had not been well received, and the Roman Catholics in England had shown themselves unfavourable to his right of succession to the crown. At home he had incurred great odium by the slaughter of the Earl of Gowrie, as to whose guilt the body of the people were invincibly incredulous. After the assembly had been occupied for a considerable time in deliberating on the "causes of the general

strang and incredible pratticks upon stented takell in the palace clos, befor the king, quein, and haill court. *This was politicklie done to mitigat the Quein and peiple for Gowries slauchter.* Even then was Hendersone tryed befor ws, and Gowries pedagog wha haid bein but-ed." (Ibid.)

* Record of Privy Council, Aug. 12, 1602. Cald. vi. 617.

† At least, Calderwood (v. 570) mentions him as voting, in the privy conference, against the translation of the ministers of Edinburgh.

defections from the purity, zeal, and practice of the true religion in all estates of the country, and how the same may be most effectually remedied," his Majesty rose and addressed them with great appearance of sincerity and pious feeling. He confessed his offences and mismanagements in the government of the kingdom; and, lifting up his hand, he vowed, in the presence of God and of the assembly, that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, defend it against all its adversaries, minister justice faithfully to his subjects, discountenance those who attempted to hinder him in this good work, reform whatever was amiss in his person or family, and perform all the duties of a good and Christian King better than he had hitherto performed them. At his request the members of assembly gave a similar pledge for the faithful discharge of their duty; and it was ordained that this mutual vow should be intimated from the pulpits on the following Sabbath, to convince the people of his Majesty's good dispositions, and of the cordiality which subsisted between him and the church *.

It was at this assembly that a motion was made to revise the common translation of the Bible, and the metrical version of the Psalms. The former of these was the only piece of reform which James exerted himself in effecting after his accession to the Eng-

* Cald. v. 577, 578. Melville's Diary, p. 366. Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 25, 26. Row's Hist. p. 62.

lish throne. On the present occasion, we are told, he made a long speech, in the course of which he dwelt on the honour which such a work would reflect on the church of Scotland. "He did mention (says Archbishop Spotswood) sundry escapes in the common translation, and made it seem that he was no less conversant in the Scriptures than they whose profession it was; and when he came to speak of the Psalms, did recite whole verses of the same, shewing both the faults of the metre and the discrepance from the text. It was the joy of all that were present to hear it, and bred not little admiration in the whole assembly*." But ravished as they were, and proud as they might be, of having for a king so great a divine, linguist, and poet, the Assembly did not think it fit to gratify his Majesty by naming him on the committee; but recommended the translation of the Bible to such of their own number as were best acquainted with the original languages, and the correction of the Psalmody to Pont†. This did not, however, prevent James from employing his poetical talents on a new version of the Psalms, intended to be sung in churches. If he had given encouragement to the ministers to prosecute such works as these, instead of irritating them, and embarrassing himself, by the agitation of questions respecting forms of ecclesiastical government, James would have acted like a wise prince.

* Spotswood, p. 466.

† Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 197, b.

He would have gained their esteem, diverted them from those political discussions of which he was so jealous, and essentially promoted the interests of religion and letters in his native kingdom.

The preposterous and baleful policy of the court distracted the ministers from other undertakings of great moment and utility. Among these was the introduction of the means of religious knowledge into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In the year 1597, the General Assembly appointed some of their number to visit the North Highlands. In passing through the shires of Inverness, Ross, and Murray, the visitors found an unexpected avidity for religious instruction in the people, and great readiness on the part of the principal proprietors to make provision for it. The chief of the clan Mackintosh subscribed obligations for the payment of stipends in the different parishes on his estate; and observing that the visitors were surprised at his alacrity, he said to them, "You may think that I am liberal, because no minister will venture to come among us. But get me the men, and I will find sufficient caution for safety of their persons, obedience to their doctrine and discipline, and good payment of their stipends, either in St. Johnston, Dundee, or Aberdeen."—"Indeed," says James Melville, who was one of the visitors, "I have ever since regretted the estate of our Highlands, and am sure if Christ were preached among them, they would shame many Lowland professors. And if pains were taken but as willingly by prince and pastors

to plant their kirks as there is for wracking and displanting the best constituted, Christ might be preached and believed both in Highlands and Borders *.”—About the same time a scheme was planned for civilizing the inhabitants of the Western Isles, who were in a state of complete barbarism, and scarcely owned even a nominal subjection to the crown. A number of private gentlemen, chiefly belonging to Fife, undertook to plant a colony in Lewis, and the adjacent places, which formed the lordship of the Isles. They obtained a charter, confirmed by Parliament, which conferred on them various privileges, and among other things authorized them to erect ten parish churches, which were to be endowed from the revenues of the bishopric of the Isles †. The presbytery of St. Andrews took a warm interest in this undertaking; and at their appointment, Robert Dury, minister of Anstruther, sailed to Lewis in the year 1601, to assist the gentlemen of the society in the plantation of their churches ‡. The next account we have of Dury is as a prisoner in Blackness, for holding a meeting of the General Assembly §.

* Melville's Diary, p. 325.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 248—250. Spotswood, p. 468.

‡ Record of Kirk Session of Anstruther Wester, April 30, 1601.

§ Among the means used for the reformation of the Highlands, it is proper to mention the translation of Knox's Liturgy, as it is called, into Gaelic, by John Carswell, Superintendent of the West, and Bishop of the Isles. It was entitled “FOIRM NA NURNUIDHEADH,” i. e. *Forms of Prayer*; and was printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevick, 24th April, 1567. An account of this very curious and

While James remained in Scotland, the scheme of introducing episcopacy, though never lost sight of, was cautiously prosecuted. After the dissolution of the Assembly held at Burntisland, the commissioners of the church addressed a circular letter to the ministers, intimating that the Spanish monarch had hostile intentions against Britain, and requesting them to impress their people with a sense of their danger, and to assure them that his Majesty was resolved to hazard his life and crown in the defence of the gospel *. Melville wrote upon his copy of the letter, *Hannibal ad portas!* He was convinced that the fears of the commissioners were affected, and that their object was to raise a false alarm, with the view of turning the public attention from their own operations. Accordingly, he neglected no opportunity of rousing his brethren to a due sense of the real danger to which they were exposed. In a discourse which he delivered at the weekly exercise in the month of June, 1602, he condemned the unfaithfulness and secular spirit which

rare work, and interesting extracts from it, accompanied with an English translation, may be seen in Leyden's Notes to Descriptive Poems, pp. 214—227. See also Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 127. I have little doubt that the Highlanders had the Psalms in their own language during the 16th century. A Gaelic translation of the first fifty Psalms was published by the synod of Argyle in the year 1650; most probably made from the newly authorized version in English.

* The death of Philip II. in the year 1598, was fatal to the hopes which had for so many years instigated the Roman Catholics of Scotland to disturb the peace of their native country.

were become common among ministers of the gospel. Gladstones, feeling himself galled with this rebuke, sent informations against him to court ; and the King having come to St. Andrews, issued a *lettre de cachet* without any authority from the Privy Council, confining him within the precincts of his college *. The design of this arbitrary mandate was in part counteracted by a plan which was adopted by the members of presbytery, the greater part of whom had been pupils of Melville. They set on foot an exercise in the New College, in which they alternately treated a theological question. This was attended by the whole university. The questions selected were chiefly such as related to the papal supremacy and hierarchy, and the discussion was managed in such a way as to make it bear on the points in dispute between presbyterians and episcopalians. By this means both ministers and students were confirmed in their attachment to presbytery, and qualified for defending it against its adversaries. As the exercise was performed in the Latin language, as it was

* " Apud S. Andrewes undecimo die mensis Julij, anno domini 1602. The kings Ma. for certaine causes and considerations moving his H. ordaines a macer or oy^r officer of armes, to passe & in his name and authoritie command and charge M^r Andrew Melvill principall of the New Colledge of S. Andrewes to remaine and containe himself in waird within the precinct of the said Colledge, and in noe wise to resort or repaire without the said precincts while he be lawfully and orderly releaved, and freed be his Ma: under the paine of rebellion and putting of him to the horne, with certification to him, if he faile and doe in the contrare that he shall be incontinent ther-

agreeable to the directions of the General Assembly, and as the papists were the only opponents who were named, the court could find no plausible pretext for suppressing it *.

During the confinement of his uncle, James Melville exerted himself with unusual zeal, and displayed a resolution and courage of which he had been supposed incapable. Perceiving that his good nature had been imposed on by designing and faithless brethren, that his silence was construed into consent, and that the compliances which he made, with a view to peace and harmony, were uniformly followed by farther encroachments on the rights of the church, he determined, henceforward, inflexibly to maintain his ground, to act invariably according to the dictates of his own judgment, and to lend a deaf ear to the fair professions of men who meant only to deceive and overreach †. He attended the assemblies of the church at the risk of his life, and

after denounced rebell and putt to the horne, and all his moveables goods escheat to his H. use, for his contemption.

(Cald. vi. 615.)

Thomas Fentenn' messenger."

* Melville's History of the Declining Age, pp. 27, 28.

† During the sitting of the General Assembly in the year 1602, he was sent for to the palace. As he came out of the cabinet, William Row, minister of Strathmiglo, who was waiting for access, overheard the King saying to one of his attendants, "This is a good simple man. I have streaked cream in his mouth: I'll warrant you, he will procure a number of votes for me to-morrow." Row communicated to James Melville what he had heard, and the latter having next day given his vote against the proposal of the court, his Majesty would not believe it, and made the clerk call his name a second time. (Livingston's Characteristicks, art. *William Row*.)

when confined by a lingering disease he wrote them from his sick-bed letters containing the freest advice and the most powerful exhortations to constancy. With the view of preventing his opposition to the court measures at a meeting of the synod of Fife, intimation was sent him that the King had given one of his letters to the Lord Advocate for the purpose of commencing a criminal prosecution against him ; but he paid so little regard to this threatening, that Sir Robert Murray, in reporting the proceedings of the synod, informed his Majesty, that James Melville was become more fiery and intractable than his uncle*.

At length the death of Elizabeth put James in possession of the new kingdom for which he had so ardently longed. In the speech which he made in the High Church of Edinburgh before setting out for England, he professed his satisfaction that he left the church in a state of peace, and declared that he had no intention of making any farther alteration of its government. He repeated this assurance to the deputies of the synod of Lothian, who waited on him as he passed through Haddington. In answer to a petition which they presented in behalf of their confined brethren, he said, that he had parted on the best terms with Bruce, that he had

* Wodrow's Life of Mr. James Melvil, pp. 96, 102 : vol. xii. MSS. in Bibl. Col. Glasg. Being told that the King hated him more than any man in Scotland for crossing his plans, he coolly replied,

Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Exarmaveris impotentis iram.

expected that Davidson would wait on him as he came through Prestonpans, and that he had given Melville the liberty of going six miles round St. Andrews *. All the ministers offered their cordial congratulations to James on this occasion, although they could not but be aware that one of the first uses which he would make of his increased power would be to overthrow their liberties †. The severity with which Melville had been treated did not prevent him from employing his muse in celebrating the peaceable accession of his sovereign to the throne of England :

Scotangle Princeps, optime principum,
 Scotangle Princeps, maxime principum,
 Scotobritan-hiberne Princeps :
 Orte polo, nate, sate princeps,
 In regna concors te vocat Anglia ;
 Te Vallia omnis ; te omnis Iernia ;
 Et fata Romæ ; et Gallicani
 Per veteres titulos triumphi
 Addunt avitis imperiis novos
 Sceptri decores ; Orcadum et insulis
 Hetlandicisque, et plus trecentis
 Hebridibus nemorosa Tempe :
 Quà belluosus cautibus obstrepit
 Nereus Britannis, quà Notus imbrifer,
 Quà Circius, Vulturnus, Eurus
 Quadrijuga vehitur procella :

* Cald. vi. 699—701. Melville's History of the Declining Age, p. 36. The Rising and Usurpatione of our pretendit Bishopes, MS. p. 21. The relaxation of Melville's confinement was procured by the Queen's mediation. (Cald. vi. 615.)

† Row's History, pp. 191, 192.

Cujus ruentis nauifrago impetu
 Vim sensit atram classis Iberica,
 Allisa flictu confraginosus
 Rupibus, et scopulis tremendis.

* * * *

Tui videndi incensa cupidine
 Plebs flagrat immenso, Eripe te mora
 Scotobritan-hiberne Princeps.
 Vive diu populoque foelix,
 Gratusque. Votis et præce supplice
 Rerum parentem concilia : et refer
 Exorsa regni leta, sanctum
 Christus imperium ut gubernet,
 Frænans proterus regna licentiæ,
 Laxans modestæ fræna decentiæ,
 Vt vera virtus verticem mox
 Conspicuum super astra tellat *.

* Melvini Musæ, pp. 12—15. There are three poems by him on the accession of James, and one on the sickness of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VIII.

MELVILLE's Correspondence with Learned Foreigners—His Apology for the Nonconformist Ministers of England—Hampton-Court Conference—Proposed Union of the two Kingdoms—Death of John Davidson—Plan of the Court for Superseding the General Assembly—Ministers Imprisoned for Holding an Assembly at Aberdeen—Convicted of High Treason—Melville Protests in Parliament against Episcopacy—Extract from Reasons of Protest—He is called to London with Seven of his Brethren—Their Appearances before the Scottish Privy Council—Sermons Preached for their Conversion—They are Prohibited from Returning to Scotland—Melville's Epigram on the Royal Altar—He is called before the Privy Council of England for it—Confined to the House of the Dean of St. Paul's—Convention of Ministers at Linlithgow—Constant Moderators Appointed—The Ministers at London Ordered to Lodge with English Bishops—Interview between them and Archbishop Bancroft—Melville called a Second Time before the Council of England—Imprisoned in the Tower—Reflections on his Treatment—His Brethren Confined—Their Dignified Behaviour.

WHILE the jealousy of the government led them to circumscribe the usefulness of Melville in every way that was within their power, his reputation

continued to spread on the Continent. Some of the most distinguished of the foreign literati courted his friendship, and corresponded with him by letters. Among these was Isaac Casaubon, who, after teaching in the academies of Geneva and Montpelier, had taken up his residence, and was prosecuting his critical studies at Paris, where he enjoyed an honorary salary as Reader to Henry IV. and Keeper of the Royal Library. The correspondence between them began in the year 1601, when Casaubon addressed a letter to Melville couched in the most flattering terms. "The present epistle, learned Melville, is dictated by the purest and most sincere affection. Your piety and erudition are universally known, and have endeared your name to every good man and lover of letters. I became first acquainted with your character at Geneva, through the conversation of those great men, Beza, the deceased Stephanus *, and the learned Lectius, all of whom, with many others, as often as your name was introduced, were accustomed to speak in the highest terms of your worth, probity, and genius. You know the effect of splendid virtues on the minds of the ingenuous; and I have always admired the saying of the ancients, that all good men are linked together by a sacred friendship, although often separated 'by many a mountain and many a town.' Having long loved and silently revered

* Henry Stephens, the learned printer, was the father-in-law of Casaubon.

your piety and learning, (two things in which I have always been ambitious to excel,) I have at length resolved to send this letter to you as an expression of my feelings. Accept of it, learned Sir, as a small but sincere testimony of that regard which your reputation has excited in the breast of a stranger. Permit me at the same time to make a complaint, which is common to me with all the lovers of learning who are acquainted with your rare erudition. We are satisfied that you have beside you a number of writings, especially on subjects connected with sacred literature, which, if communicated to the studious, would be of the greatest benefit to the church of God. Why do you suppress them, and deny us the fruits of your wakeful hours? There are already too many, you will say, who burn with a desire to appear before the public. True, my learned Sir; we have many authors, but we have few or no Melvilles. Let me entreat you to make your appearance, and to act the part which Providence has assigned you in such a manner as that we also may share the benefit of your labours. Farewell, learned Melville; and henceforward reckon me in the number of your friends *."

Another of Melville's foreign correspondents was Mornay du Plessis, a nobleman who united in his

* Casauboni *Epistolæ*, p. 129, edit. Almelooven. There is only another letter to Melville in that collection. (Ib. p. 254.) It appears from this that he had received letters from Melville. (Comp. p. 143.)

character the best qualities of the soldier, the statesman, the scholar, and the Christian. The correspondence between them appears to have commenced on the occasion of a controversy excited among the Protestants of France, by a peculiar opinion respecting the doctrine of justification, which Piscator, a celebrated theologian at Herborn in the Palatinate, had started. The National Synod of the French churches, which met at Gap in the year 1603, passed a severe censure on the novel tenet, and wrote to other reformed churches and universities requesting them to assist in its suppression*. Melville and his colleague Johnston conveyed their sentiments on the subject in a letter to Du Plessis. They did not presume to judge of the sentence of the Synod of Gap, but begged leave to express their fears that strong measures would inflame the minds of the disputants, and that the farther agitation of the question might breed a dissension very injurious to the interests of the evangelical churches. It appeared to them, that both parties held the protestant doctrine of justification, and only differed a little in their mode of explaining it. They, therefore, in the name of their brethren, entreated Du Plessis to employ the authority which his piety, prudence, learned writings, and illustrious services in the cause of Christianity had

* Quick's Synodicon, i. 227. Piscator was accused of holding that the sufferings only of Christ, and not the actions of his life, are imputed to believers in justification.

given him in the Gallican church, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy *. In his reply to this letter, Du Plessis expressed his approbation of the prudent advice which they had given, and informed them of the happy effects which it had produced †. The King of Great Britain reckoned it incumbent on him, in his new character of *Defender of the Faith*, to interfere in this dispute, as he afterwards did very warmly in the controversies excited in Holland by Arminius and Vorstius. The synod of Gap had given him umbrage by a declaration which he considered as derogating from the due authority of bishops ‡.

The ministers of Scotland waited with anxiety to see how James would act towards that numerous and respectable body of his new subjects who had all along pleaded for a farther reformation in the English church. From this they could form a pretty correct estimate of the line of conduct which he intended to pursue with themselves. Before the death of Elizabeth he had sounded the disposi-

* *Epistola ad Morneium*, MS. in *Bibl. Jurid. Edin.* M. 6. 9. num. 46. & Rob. III. 2. 18. num. 10.

† *Vie de M. du Plessis*, p. 307. *Quick's Synodicon*, i. 265, 266.

‡ The synod declared that the title *Superintendent*, in their Confession, did not imply "any superiority of one Pastor above another." (*Quick*, i. 227.) Against this explication James sent a remonstrance. (*Laval, Hist.* vol. v. p. 415.) Du Plessis, in a letter to M. de la Fontaine, apologizes for the declaration of the synod. (*Mémoires de M. du Plessis*, tom. iv. p. 50.)—James published his *Epistola de controversia mota de Justificatione*, anno 1612. It begins with a quotation from *Solomon*, and ends with *Jacobus*.

tions of the puritans. They were universally in favour of his title; and there is no reason to doubt that he gave them hopes in the event of his accession *. When he was on his way to London they presented to him a petition, commonly called, from the number of names affixed to it, the *Milkenary Petition*; stating their grievances, and requesting that measures might be adopted for redressing them, and for removing corruptions which had long been complained of by the soundest Protestants. No sooner was this petition presented than the two universities took the alarm. The university of Cambridge passed a *grace*, "that whosoever opposed, by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the church of England, or any part of it, should be suspended, *ipso facto*, from any degree already taken, and be disabled from taking any degree for the future." The university of Oxford published a formal answer to the petition, in which they accused those who subscribed it of a spirit of faction and hostility to monarchy, abused the Scottish reformation, lauded the government of the church of England as the great support of the crown, and concluded with this very modest declaration, "there are at this day more learned men in this kingdom than are to be found among all the ministers of religion in all Europe besides †." These

* See his letter to Mr. Wilcock in *Cald.* vi. 698, 699, and Jacob's Attestation of learned, godly, and famous Divines, pp. 14, 313.

† Who were the individuals at this time in the church of England, (those inclined to nonconformity excepted,) who were known in the

proceedings were not only injurious to several respectable members of both universities, who were known to have taken part in the petition, but disrespectful to the King, who had received it and promised to inquire into the abuses of which it complained. Melville felt indignant at this prostitution of academical authority, and attacked the resolutions of the English universities in a satirical poem which he wrote in defence of the petitioners *. The poem was extensively circulated in England, and galled the ruling party in the church no less than it gratified their opponents. Several of the English academics drew their pens against it, but their productions were confessedly very inferior to Melville's in elegance and pungency †.

republic of letters? To the names eulogized by Melville, Herbert opposes the apostles Peter and Paul, the emperor Constantine, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, Duns Scotus, and King James! (*Muse Resp. Epigr. 33. De Authorum Enumeratione.*)

* *Pre supplicii Evangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia ad Serenissimum Regem, contra larvatam geminæ Academiæ Gorgonem Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Authore A. Melvino. 1604.* Sir Robert Sibbald mentions an edition of this poem in 1680. (*De Scriptoribus Scoticis, MS. p. 13.*) It was reprinted in Calderwood's *Altere Damascenum*.

† One of these was George Herbert, who, in forty epigrams, analyzed Melville's poem, and answered it piece-meal. His epigrams were added by Dr. Duport to a collection of Latin poems by himself and others, entitled "*Ecclesiastes Solomonis &c. Accedunt Georgii Herberti Musæ Responsoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam. Cantab. 1662.*"—Isaac Walton says, "If Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy." Upon which Walton's editor remarks: "We cannot suppose that Andrew Melville could retain the least personal resentment against Mr. Herbert; whose verses have in them so little of the poignancy of

The proceedings and issue of the mock conference at Hampton Court are well known. On that occasion care was not taken to preserve even the appearances of impartiality. Every thing was previously settled in private between the King and the bishops. The individuals who were allowed to plead for reform were few; they were not chosen by those in whose name they appeared, nor did they express their sentiments; and, although men of talents and learning, they did not possess the firmness and courage which the situation required. The moderation of their demands was converted into a proof of the weakness of their cause, and the unreasonableness of nonconformity. The modesty with which they urged them served only to draw down upon them the most intemperate and insolent abuse. They were browbeaten, threatened, taunted, insulted, by persons who were every way their inferiors except in rank. The Puritans complained of the unfairness of the account of the conference which was published by Barlow; but whatever injustice the bishop may have done to their arguments, and whatever intention he may have had to

native, that it is scarce possible to consider them as capable of exciting the anger of him to whom they are addressed." (Walton's Lives, Dr. Zouch's edit. p. 342.)—Thomas Atkinson, B.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, wrote an answer, under the title of "*Melvinus Delirans, five Satyra edentula contra ejusdem Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam—per Thomam Atkinson. Poema versibus Iambicis scriptum.*" (Harl. MSS. num. 3496. 2.) It was dedicated to William Laud, when Dean of Gloucester and President of St. John's College. The MS. is not now to be found in the British Museum.

injure their reputation, they ought to have applauded his performance. Nothing, in fact, can be more pitiable than the disclosure which it makes of the bigotry and servile adulation of the bishops, and of the intolerable conceit and grotesque ribaldry of the King. To quote it is to expose them to ridicule. No modern Episcopalian can read it without reddening with shame at the figure in which the head and dignified members of his church are represented *. There was not the most distant idea of giving relief to the complainers by this conference. The object of it was to afford James an opportunity of displaying his talents for theological controversy before his new subjects, to give him a plausible excuse for evading his promises to the non-conformists, and to smooth the way for the introduction of the forms of the English church into

* The Summe and Substance of the Conference—at Hampton Court, January 14, 1603. Contracted by William Barlow, Doctour of Divinitie, &c. Lond. 1605. It is reprinted in Phoenix, vol. i. Besides Barlow, and the other authorities referred to by Neal, in his History of the Puritans, those who wish full information of the conference may also consult Wilkins's Concilia Mag. Brit. tom. ii. pp. 373—375.

Barlow's Account of the Conference, with the Canons agreed on by the Convocation in the course of the same year, was published at Paris in French by the Roman Catholics. Such notes as the following were added on the margin: *King James abjures the Scottish church—King James a semi-catholic*, &c. (Ad Sereniss. Jacobum Primum—Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ libellus supplex. Auctore Jacobo Melvino. P. 30. Lond. 1645.) The French Protestants complained that their adversaries endeavoured to render them odious by quoting what James had said of the Puritans in his Basilicon Doron. (Lord Hailes's Memorials and Letters, i. 73.)

Scotland *. The liturgy was published with a few trifling alterations, and conformity to it was enjoined upon all ministers under the severest penalties †. In his speech to the parliament which met soon after at Westminster, James acknowledged the church of Rome to be his "mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions"—spoke with the greatest tenderness of her adherents, and declared his readiness to "meet them in the mid-way:" but "the puritans or novelists, who do not differ from us so much in points of religion as in their confused form of policy and parity," were pronounced by his Majesty to be a "sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth ‡."

Warned by these facts, the ministers of Scotland were awake to their danger when the union of the kingdoms was proposed; a measure of which James was extremely fond, and which he set on foot immediately after he went to England. Melville was friendly to a legislative union; and joined with several of his learned countrymen in setting forth the advantages which would accrue from it to both kingdoms §. But he was convinced at the same time, from the disposition of the court, that there was the greatest reason to fear that the presbyterian establishment

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. pp. 8, 20, Toulm. edit. Compleat Hist. of England, ii. 665.

† Wilkins's Concilia, tom. ii. pp. 377, 406, 408.

‡ Journals of the Commons, vol. i. p. 142.

§ Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 118. There is a letter of Melville's prefixed to a treatise on the Union by Hume of Godscroft. (MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin.)

would be sacrificed to accomplish it. When the parliament of Scotland was called to deliberate on this important business, the synod of Fife, under his influence, applied for liberty to hold a meeting of the General Assembly. They were told by the agents of the court that this was altogether unnecessary, as the commissioners to be appointed by parliament were merely to advise on the terms of union, and to report to their constituents ; to which the deputies of the synod replied, that in ordinary cases the resolutions of committees were adopted by the Estates, and, consequently, the selection of the commissioners and the instructions given to them were of the very greatest importance. Having failed in obtaining this object, the synod addressed a spirited admonition to the commissioners of the General Assembly. After expressing their fervent wishes for the success of the proposed union, as conducive to the temporal prosperity of both kingdoms, and to the security of the protestant religion in them, they admonished the commissioners to crave of the parliament that the laws formerly made in favour of the church should be confirmed, and that nothing should be done tending to hurt, alter, or innovate her discipline and government, which was founded on the word of God, established by the laws of the land, and sanctioned by solemn promises and oaths. They required them to protest, that, if any step was taken to its prejudice, it should be null and void ; and to charge those who voted in the name of the church, to confine themselves within the

bounds of their commission, and to defend the ecclesiastical constitution, as they should answer to Christ and his church. And in fine they adjured them, before God and his elect angels, to inform the commissioners for the union, and, through them, his Majesty, that the members of synod were fully persuaded that the essential grounds of the government established in the church of Scotland were not indifferent or alterable, but rested on divine authority, equally as the other articles of religion did, and that they would part with their lives sooner than renounce them. The King was very desirous that the commissioners for the union should be invested with unlimited powers; but the parliament, jealous of the designs of the court, passed an act, declaring, in conformity with the request of the synod of Fife, that they should have no power to treat of any thing that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical discipline of Scotland *.

In the course of the year 1604, John Davidson, who had taken an active part in the public transac-

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 274. Forbes's MS. History, pp. 34, 35. James Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 37—41. Printed Cald. p. 479—481. Calderwood represents the admonition to the commissioners of the General Assembly as given by the synod of Fife: James Melville ascribes it to the commissioners of synods. Forbes states that the King sent down a list of such persons as he wished to be chosen commissioners for the union, consisting chiefly of bishops and newly-created noblemen; that the ancient nobility, offended at this, refused to bear their expenses; that the persons nominated by the King offered to go at their own charge; and that, upon this, the nobility made the act exempting ecclesiastical matters from their cognizance.

tions of his time, departed this life *. On his return from banishment after the death of the Regent Morton, he became minister of the parish of Libberton. The tyranny of Arran drove him a second time into England. Upon the fall of Arran, he declined returning to Libberton, and was chosen to deliver a morning lecture in one of the churches of Edinburgh. In this situation he remained until he was called to Prestonpans, where he officiated till his death †. Davidson was a man of sincere and warm piety, and of no inconsiderable portion of learning, united with a large share of that blunt and fearless honesty which characterized the first reformers. The bodily distress under which he laboured during the last years of his life was aggravated by the persecution which he suffered from the government ‡. He left behind him collections relating to the ecclesias-

* Four individuals "having cōmission of the hail parish of Saltprestoun, bot especially of y^e laird of Prestone, compeirit lamenting y^e death of o^r father Mr. Joⁿ Davidsone y^r last pastor." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Sept. 5, 1604.)

† "Mr. John Davidsoun refusit to reenter to the kirk of Libbertoun." (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 5, 1588.) "The transportation of Mr. Ar^d Symson from Dalkeith till Cranston, and Mr. John Davidsoun's planting at Dalkeith," are remitted to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. (Rec. of Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, Sept. 17, 1589.) "Mr. John Davidsoun's preiching in Edinburgh quarrellit and approved." (Ibid. Oct. 3, 1589. Comp. April 1, 1595.) A proposal was made for having him settled in the West Kirk. (Rec. of Presb. of Edin. Oct. 29, 1594, March 18, 1595.)

‡ Cald. v. 579, 608.

tical history of Scotland, with other writings, which the court was eager to suppress*.

Some time before this, Gladstones was nominated to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and Spotswood to that of Glasgow, as a reward for their services in forwarding the schemes of the court, and an encouragement to them to persevere in their exertions for the overthrow of presbytery.

During the years 1604 and 1605, Melville bore an active part in the struggle for maintaining the

* His papers, after his death, came into the hands of John Jonston, Melville's colleague. "Item, I leaue the trunk that lyes under the bwirde w^t Mr. Johne Davidsons papers thairin to Mr. Robt Wallace & Mr. Alex^r Hooome at Prestounepannes." (Jonston's Testament.) At Jonston's death, an order was issued by the lords of privy council, (Nov. 21, 1611,) to the rector of the university and provost and bailies of St. Andrews, to "cause his coffers to be closed"—as it was understood "that he had sundrie paperis writtis and books, pairtlie written be himselfe, and pairtlie be utheris,—q^{lk} contenis sum purposs and mater whairin his Mat^{te} may have verry iust caus of offens, gif the same be sufferit to come to licht." (Collection of Letters in the possession of the Earl of Haddington.) An account of the progress which Davidson had made in his historical collections is given in a letter which he wrote to the King, April 1, 1603. (Cald. vi. 686—688.) "A little before his death he penned a treatise, *De Hostibus Ecclesie Christi*, wherein he affirms y^t the erecting of bishops in this kirk is the most subtile thinge to destroy religione y^t ever could be devised." (Row's Hist. p. 293.) His catechism, entitled, "Some Helpes for young Schollers in Christianity, Edinburgh 1602," was reprinted in 1708, with a very curious preface by Mr. William Jameson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, in which he exposes the forgery of Mr. Robert Calder, who, by a pretended quotation from this catechism, attempted to persuade the public that Davidson had recanted presbyterian principles before his death.

General Assembly, the great bulwark of the liberties of the church of Scotland. By the parliamentary establishment of Presbytery in the year 1592, it was secured that the supreme judicatory should be held at least once a year, and a rule was laid down for fixing the particular day and place of every meeting. Under various pretexts James had infringed this rule; and, with the assistance of the commissioners of the church, had altered the times and places of assembling. In consequence of a complaint from the synod of Fife, the Assembly held at Holyroodhouse in 1602 came to the resolution, that General Assemblies should hereafter be regularly kept according to the act of parliament*. His Majesty was present and agreed to this resolution; yet when the time approached for holding an Assembly at Aberdeen on the last Tuesday of July, 1604, he prorogued it until the conferences respecting the union were over. As all classes in the nation were eager in securing their rights, the presbytery of St. Andrews judged it incumbent on them to be careful of the rights of the church. They enjoined their representatives to repair to Aberdeen; who, finding none present to join with them in constituting the Assembly, took a formal protest, in the presence of witnesses, that they had done their duty, and that whatever injury might arise to the liber-

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 201, b; 203, a. At the Assembly in May, 1597, his Majesty declared the act of parliament regulating the meetings of the church courts to be "the most authentick forme of consent that any king can give." (Ibid. f. 187, a.)

ties of the church from the desertion of that diet should not be imputed to them or to their constituents.

This faithful step aroused the zeal of the other presbyteries. At the ensuing meeting of the synod of Fife, delegates from all parts of the church attended to consult on the course which should be taken to assert their rights. At this meeting, and at an extraordinary one subsequently held at Perth, the parliamentary bishops and commissioners of the church were severely taken to task, and accused of clandestinely hindering the meeting of the General Assembly, for the purpose of prolonging their own delegated powers, and evading the censures which they had incurred by transgressing the cautions. It was at the same time resolved to send petitions from all the synods, requesting his Majesty to allow the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory to meet for the transacting of important and urgent business. Gladstones conveyed information to the King of the activity with which Melville and his nephew promoted these measures; in consequence of which an order came from London to incarcerate them. But the council, either offended at the bishop's officiousness, or afraid of the spirit which then pervaded the nation, excused themselves from carrying the order into execution*.

* Apologetical Narration by W. S. (William Scot, minister of Cupar in Fife,) pp. 133—138: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Printed Calderwood, pp. 492—484.

Notwithstanding the numerous petitions transmitted to court from presbyteries and synods *, the General Assembly was again prorogued in 1605; and, as if to declare that the King had assumed the whole power of calling it into his own hands, no time was fixed for its meeting. It now behoved the ministers to make a determined stand, unless they meant to surrender their rights without a struggle to the crown.

The election of the members of Assembly had taken place in many parts of the country before its prorogation was known. After such mutual consultation as the shortness of the time permitted, nine presbyteries resolved to send their representatives to Aberdeen, with instructions to constitute the Assembly, and adjourn it to a particular day, without proceeding to transact any business. John Forbes, minister of Alford, who had lately had an interview with his Majesty at London, and received assurances of his disposition to maintain the jurisdiction of the church, was employed to communicate

* On the 25th September, 1604, the presbytery of Haddington appointed commissioners to go to St. Johnston "to regreit the delay of the generall assemblee." Oct. 17, 1604, they agreed that a petition should be presented to his Majesty on this subject. Sept. 11, 1605, they appointed the following clause to be inserted in a supplication: "That seing we understand his Mat^{tie} hes bein abused in respect no sute hath bene delyverit (as ane letter direct frō his Mat^{tie} bearis) craving ane generall assemblee: q^ras the Sinod of lawthiane and tueddell, convenit at tranent, direct ane letter to his Mat^{tie} craving maist humblie ane generall assemblee; and sent [it] to his Mat^{tie} be. Mr. Jho. Spottiswood." (Record of Presbytery.)

this resolution to the Chancellor. That statesman professed himself satisfied with the moderation of the proposal, and promised to refrain from interdicting the Assembly, and merely to address a letter to the ministers who should meet, desiring them to separate. On the 2d of July, nineteen ministers * having met, after sermon, in the session-house of Aberdeen, Straiton of Lauriston, the King's Commissioner, presented to them a letter from the Lords of Privy Council. As it was addressed "To the brethren of the ministry convened at their Assembly in Aberdeen," it was agreed, before reading it, to constitute the Assembly, and choose a moderator and clerk. While they were employed in reading the letter, a messenger at arms entered, and, in the King's name, charged them to dismiss on the pain of rebellion. The Assembly declared their readiness to comply with this order, and only requested his Majesty's Commissioner to name a day and place for next meeting. Upon his refusal, the moderator appointed the Assembly to meet again in the same place on the last Tuesday of September ensuing, and then dissolved the meeting with prayer. Lauriston afterwards gave out that he had discharged the Assembly by open proclamation at the market-cross of Aberdeen on the day before it met; but no per-

* Ten other ministers came to Aberdeen after the Assembly was dissolved, and by their subscriptions approved of what their brethren had done.—The presbytery of Haddington severely reprimanded their representative for not repairing to Aberdeen, and approved of the procedure of the Assembly. (Record, July 17 and 24, 1603.)

son heard this, and it was universally believed that he antedated his proclamation, to conciliate the King and the court ministers, who were highly offended at him for the countenance which he had given to the meeting*.

This is a summary account of the assembly at Aberdeen, which afterwards made so much noise, and which the King resented so highly. The conduct of the ministers who kept it, instead of meriting punishment, is entitled to warm and unqualified approbation. It was marked at once by firmness and moderation, by zeal for the rights of the church and respect for the authority of their sovereign. Had they done less than they did, they would have forfeited the honourable character which the ministers of Scotland had acquired—disgraced themselves, and discredited those to whose places they had succeeded. They would have crouched to the usurped claims of a regal supremacy, which they and their predecessors had uniformly and steadily

* Melville's *History of the Declining Age*, pp. 52—55. Simsoni. Annal. p. 90. *Rising and Usurpation of the Pretendit Bishops*, pp. 22—24. History by Mr. John Forbes, pp. 42—62. The two last MSS. are in my possession. John Forbes, who was moderator of the Assembly at Aberdeen, was a brother of Patrick Forbes of Corse, who afterwards became bishop of Aberdeen. Spotswood's account is entirely taken from the official *Declaration of the just Causes of his Maj. Proceedings against the Ministers who are now lying in Prison*; printed both at Edinburgh and London in 1605. A counter-statement was published by the ministers under the title of *Faithful Report of the Proceedings anent the Assembly of Ministers at Aberdeen*: printed in England in 1606.

resisted, which were not more inconsistent with presbyterian principles than contrary to the laws of the country, and which, if yielded to, would have converted the free and independent General Assembly of the church of Scotland into a Parisian parliament or an English convocation. They are entitled to the gratitude of the friends of civil liberty. The question at issue between the court and them amounted to this, whether they were to be ruled by law, or by the arbitrary will of the prince—whether royal proclamations were to be obeyed when they suspended statutes enacted by the joint authority of King and Parliament. This question came afterwards to be debated in England, and was ultimately decided by the establishment of the constitutional doctrine which confines the exercise of royal authority within the boundaries of law. But it cannot be denied, and it ought not to be forgotten, that the ministers of Scotland were the first to avow this rational doctrine, at the expense of being denounced and punished as traitors; and that their pleadings and sufferings in behalf of ecclesiastical liberty set an example to the friends of civil liberty in England. In this respect complete justice has not yet been done to their memory; nor has expiation been made for the injuries done to the cause which they maintained, by the slanderous libels against these patriots which continue to stain the pages of English history.

The Privy Council did not resent the proceedings at Aberdeen. But no sooner was his Majesty informed

of them than he transmitted orders to the law-officers in Scotland to proceed with the utmost rigour against the ministers who had presumed to contravene his command *. They were accordingly called before the privy council, and fourteen of them having stood to the defence of their conduct, were committed to different prisons. John Forbes, who was moderator of the Assembly, and John Welch, being considered as leaders, were treated with greater severity than the rest ; being confined within separate cells in the castle of Blackness, and secluded from all intercourse with their friends. An anecdote, authenticated by the records of the council, affords a striking illustration of the spirit with which the ministers were actuated. Robert Youngson, minister of Clatt, had been induced to make an acknowledgment before the privy council, and was

* His Majesty's letter to Secretary Balmerino is dated "at Hauer-
ing in the boure the xix of Julij 1605." (Collection of Letters in
possession of the Earl of Haddington.) The ministers were first
called before the Privy Council on the 25th of July. (Collection of
Acts of Secret Council, by Sir John Hay, Knight, Clerk of Register.)
James marked with his own hand such parts of the proceedings of
the ministers as in his opinion brought them "within the compass
of the law." Among these the following merits notice : "In the said
lre [the letter of the Assembly to the Privy Council] thereafter at
this signe ÷, they wald mak this thair appollogie for thair proceed-
ing, *that they sould not be the first oppenaris of ane gap to the oppin
breache and violatioun of the lawis and statutis of this realme ; willing
the counsell to wey and consider thair of ; as gif they wald mak ane
plane accusatioun of sum tyrannie intendit be ws to the prejudice of
the lawis of our kingdome, an speiche altogidder smelling of treasoun
and lese majestie.*" (Collection of Letters, ut supra.)

dismissed. But on the day when the cause of his brethren came to be tried, he voluntarily presented himself along with them, professed his deep sorrow for the acknowledgment which he had formerly made, avowed the lawfulness of the late assembly, and, having obtained the permission of the council, took his place at the bar*. Having declined the authority of the privy council as incompetent to judge in a cause which was purely ecclesiastical, six of the ministers† were served with an indictment to stand trial for high treason before the Court of Justiciary at Linlithgow. They were indicted solely for the fact of their having declined the privy council; and the charge of treason was founded on a law enacted during the infamous administration of Arran, which, so far as it respected ecclesiastical matters, was disabled by a posterior statute. The defence of their counsel was able and conclusive, and the speeches of Forbes and Welch were of the most impressive kind. But of what avail are innocence and eloquence against the arts of corruption and terror? The Earl of Dunbar, now the King's favourite, was sent down to Scotland for the express purpose of securing the condemnation of the ministers. Such of the privy counsellors as the court could depend on were appointed assessors to the

* Act of Secret Council, Oct. 24, 1605. (Sir John Hay's Collection.)

† John Forbes, minister at Alford, John Welch at Ayr, Robert Dury at Anstruther, Andrew Duncan at Crail, John Sharp at Kilmany, and Alexander Strachan at Creigh.

judges; the jury were packed; after they had retired, the most illegal intercourse took place between them and the crown officers; and by such disgraceful methods a verdict was at last obtained, finding, by a majority of three, the prisoners guilty of treason. The pronouncing of the sentence was deferred until his Majesty's pleasure should be known*.

The conduct of the ministers, during their imprisonment and on their trial, gained them the highest esteem. Those who had pronounced them guilty were ashamed of their own conduct. The glaring and scandalous perversion of justice struck the minds of all men with horror. In vain did the court issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the pain of death, any to pray, "either generally or particularly," for the convicted ministers, or to call in question the verdict pronounced against them, or to arraign any of the proceedings of government.

* Forbes's Hist. pp. 62—151. Melville's Decl. Age, pp. 61—92. Spotswood, pp. 487—489. Scot's Apolog. Narration, pp. 143—163. Of the illegalities of the process no other proof is required than the account of it which the Lord Advocate transmitted to the King. (Lord Hailes's Memorials, vol. i. pp. 1—4.) In the same strain is the letter written which Secretary Balmerino addressed to his Majesty "by direction of the counsell." "To dissemble nothing," says he, "gif the Erle of Dumbar had not bene with ws, and pairtlie by his dexteritie in aduising quhat wes fittest to be done in euerie thing, and pairtlie by the autie he had over his friends, of quhome a greit many past upoun the assise, and pairtlie for that sune stood aw of his présens, knowing that he wald mak fidell relatioun to your matie of euerie mans pairt, the turne had not framed so well as, *blessit be God*, it has." (Col. of Letters belonging to Lord Haddington.)

The proclamations were disregarded and disobeyed. Insensible to the feelings of the nation, the King refused to exert his right to pardon. He would not even impart to his counsellors his resolution as to "the punishment of the traitors, which behoved," he said, "to remain for some time in his own breast as an *arcanum imperii*." And he ordered them to proceed without delay with the trial of the ministers who were still in prison, and whose conviction he anticipated as a matter of course after the decision which had been given against their brethren, especially if "more wary election was made of the next assisors *." Had this insane mandate been carried into execution, it must have spread dissatisfaction and discontent through the nation, and might have hastened on those confusions which broke out during the succeeding reign. Fortunately for James his counsellors were endued with more wisdom than he possessed. They wrote him in plain terms, that it was impossible for them to procure the conviction of the remaining prisoners; that those who sat on the former jury would not consent to re-act the same part; that, even if they were willing, it would disgrace the government to employ them; and that no others could be found to undertake a task which would expose them to universal odium and execration †. James reluctantly

* His Majesty's letter to the Lords of Secret Council, Jan. 22, 1606: Col. of Letters, ut sup.

† The Counsellis Answer to his Majesty's Letter, Januar—1606; Col. of Letters, ut sup.

yielded ; but “ the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.” The eight ministers were released from prison ; but they were banished singly to the extremities of the Highlands, to the Western Isles, Orkney, and Shetland ; and in these inclement and then barbarous abodes, several of them contracted diseases which hurried them to a premature grave. The dread which was entertained of the talents of the six convicted ministers procured for them a milder fate. After being imprisoned fourteen months in the castle of Blackness, they were banished into France *.

These severities increased the nation’s aversion to episcopacy, and its dislike of the bishops, who were universally believed to have incensed his Majesty against the men who opposed their elevation. If the first introduction of episcopacy had produced such persecution, what might be looked for when it obtained a complete ascendancy and establishment † ? The people contrasted the harsh treatment of their ministers with the suspicious lenity shown to Roman Catholics. It was observed, that, at this very time, Gilbert Brown, abbot of Newabbey, who had for many years been a busy trafficker for Rome and Spain, and a chief instrument of keeping the south

* Act of Secret Council, Oct. 23, 1606 : Sir John Hay’s Collection. Simsoni Annales, p. 91. Cald. 549.

† Melville expressed the general feeling in these lines :

Talia si teneri producunt poma stolones ?

Quid longæva arbos ? qualia poma feret ?

(Simsoni Annales, p. 91.)

of Scotland under ignorance and superstition, was released from the castle of Edinburgh, where he had been liberally entertained at the public expense, and was allowed to leave the kingdom, after all his crucifixes, agnus deis, relics, chalices, and sacred vestments, had been religiously restored to him; while John Welch, who had converted multitudes from the errors of popery by his pastoral labours, and had published, at his Majesty's particular request, a learned confutation of the abbot's tenets, was detained in vile durance, and obliged to support himself in prison on his own charges *. "Barabbas (says a writer of that time) was released, and the faithful preachers of the word of God were retained in loathsome dungeons †." Nor did it escape notice, that James continued unrelentingly to prosecute the imprisoned ministers after his almost miraculous escape from the Gunpowder Plot, and rejected all intercessions in their favour, though

* Forbes's Hist. p. 111. Melville's Decl. Age, pp. 82, 83. Welch's book is entitled, "A Reply against M. Gilbert Browne Priest. Wherein is handled many of the Greatest and weightiest pointes of controversie between vs and the Papistes, &c. By M. John Welche, Preacher of Christ's Gospell at Aire. Edinburgh, Printed by Robert Waldegrave, 1602." Pp. 363. Dedicated to James VI. It was reprinted in 1672, by Matthew Crawford, under the title of "Popery Anatomized."

It would appear that some of the ministers received pecuniary aid from their presbyteries during their imprisonment. "The haill bretheren of the presbyterie agréis to ane cōtributioune of fourtie marks for support of yr bretheren in ward." (Record of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Nov. 15, 1605.)

† Simsoni Annal. p. 93.

embodied in congratulatory addresses which were transmitted to him from his native kingdom on that memorable occasion*.

Melville took a warm interest in the fate of his persecuted brethren. He avowed his approbation of their conduct in holding the assembly at Aberdeen and in declining the judgment of the privy council. He zealously promoted petitions to the government in their favour. He was present in Linlithgow on the day of their trial to give them his advice, and to make a final attempt for accommodation with the privy council. And, after their conviction, he accompanied them to the place of their confinement†. It was not long till he was called to make a more open appearance in behalf of the cause for which they suffered, and to share in the hardships which he now sought to alleviate.

* Printed Calderwood, p. 507. A poem by Melville on the Gunpowder Plot is printed in *Delit. Poet. Scot.* tom. ii. p. 100. In the speech which James made to the parliament of England after the discovery of the plot, while he shewed great anxiety to distinguish between the different kinds of papists, he went out of his way to declare his detestation of "the cruelty of the Puritanes, worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist." (*Works*, p. 504.) In answer to the petitions in behalf of the Scottish ministers, he said, that "the papists were seeking his life indeed, but the ministers were seeking his crown, dearer to him nor his life." (*Melville's Decl. Age.* p. 83.) The truth is, James abused the puritans because he dreaded no harm from them, and he endeavoured to keep fair with the papists, because, as he sometimes phrased it, "they were dexterous king-killers;" just as some Indians are said to worship the devil, for fear he should do them a mischief. (*Toplady's Historic Proof*, ii. 215.)

† Printed Calderwood, pp. 508, 516.

Presuming that these severe proceedings must have intimidated and subdued the spirit of the ministers, the court deemed the present a favourable time for taking another step in the introduction of episcopacy. The provincial synods were assembled, and deputies from his Majesty required their consent to five articles, intended to secure the bishops from being called to account for their late violations of the cautions, and to recognize the power which the King claimed over the General Assembly. But these articles were decisively rejected by the synod of Fife; and the other synods, with the exception of that of Angus, referred the determination of them to the General Assembly*.

Melville was deputed by the presbytery of St. Andrews to wait on the parliament which met at Perth in August, 1606; and was instructed to co-operate with his brethren of other presbyteries in seeing that the church suffered no injury at that assembly of the Estates. Understanding that it was intended to repeal the statute which had annexed the temporalities of bishoprics to the crown, and to restore the episcopal order to their ancient privileges, they gave in to the Lords of Articles a representation; stating, that the episcopal office stood condemned by the laws of the church, and that the bishops were restored to a place in parliament without prejudice to the established ecclesiastical go-

* Simsoni Annal. p. 98. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 92. Forbes, pp. 165, 166.

vernment; and craving that, if any act were to be passed in their favour, the cautions enacted by the General Assembly, with the concurrence of his Majesty, should be embodied in it. In reply to this they were explicitly told by the Chancellor, that the bishops would be restored to the state in which they were a hundred years ago. Upon this they prepared a protest, which being refused by the Lords of Articles, they gave in to each of the Estates. Forty-two names, of which Melville's was the first, were affixed to this protest. The commissioners of shires and burghs at first promised to support it, but most of them were in the issue gained over by the agents of the court. The chief nobility were averse to the restoration of episcopacy*; but since James's advancement to the throne of England, it was become a matter of greater consequence than it had formerly been to preserve the royal favour; and he employed an argument with them which proved irresistible. The gifts which they had obtained from church lands were confirmed to them, and a great many new temporal lordships were erected from the same fund. The bishops did not scruple to violate the "caveats" by consenting to this alienation of the property of the church, and to the reduction of the number of

* "En Ecosse la plupart des Seigneurs sont non-seulement Puritains, mais mal-contens: de sorte que je ne sçais s'il se pourra faire obéir." (Lettre à M. de Villeroy, 31 May, 1606: Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. i. p. 63.)

her voters in parliament from fifty-one to thirteen. This compromise being made, the parliament restored the bishops to all their ancient and accustomed honours, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, and livings, and at the same time revived the chapters which had been suppressed by the General Assembly. The preamble to this act is perfectly appropriate. It recognizes his Majesty as "absolute prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal." By another act the royal prerogative was raised to the highest pitch, accompanied with the most extravagant and fulsome adulation of the reigning sovereign *. The greatest precautions were taken to prevent the ministers from protesting against these deeds. Melville had been appointed by his brethren to perform this task. On the day on which the acts were to be ratified, he gained admission into the House; but no sooner did he stand up than an order was given to remove him. Though thus prevented from taking a protest according to legal forms, he did not retire until he had made his errand sufficiently known †.

The protest was conceived in language respectful

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 281, 282. The last-mentioned act was concealed at the time. The oath of supremacy was ordained by act of Privy Council only. (Record of Privy Council, June 2, 1607.) Calderwood (MS. vi. 1112) says, it was "printed at Edinburgh be Robert Charters, anno dom. 1607."

† Printed Cald. p. 521. Simsoni Annal. p. 100. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 105.

to the legislature, but expressive of the most determined opposition to the measure under their consideration. It reminded the members of parliament that they were not lords over the church, but nursing fathers to her ; and that, instead of assuming a power to mould her government according to their pleasure, it was their duty to preserve and maintain that which had been given her by her divine head. It warned them that the measure under their consideration would, if adopted, overthrow that discipline under which religion had flourished for so many years in Scotland. It conjured them not to undo all that they had done in behalf of the church ; nor, for the sake of gratifying a few aspiring individuals, to erect anew a hierarchy which had been abjured by the nation, and which had uniformly proved the source of " great idleness, palpable ignorance, insufferable pride, pitiless tyranny, and shameless ambition." And it concluded with declaring, that the protesters were ready to produce reasons at large to shew that the power and dignity which it was proposed to confer on bishops were contrary to Scripture, the opinions of the fathers, the canons of the ancient church, the writings of the most learned and godly divines of modern times, the doctrine and constitution of the church of Scotland since the beginning of the Reformation, the laws of the realm, and the welfare and honour of the King, parliament, and subjects *. The pro-

* Informations, or a Protestation, and a Treatise from Scotland. Imprinted 1608. Pp. 94. 12mo. It appears from the epistle to the

test was drawn up by Patrick Simpson, minister of Stirling; the reasons of protest were composed by James Melville, with the assistance of his uncle *. The following extracts from the last-mentioned paper will serve as a proof of the spirit with which it was written, and of the enlightened zeal for civil liberty, and the temporal welfare of the nation, with which the ministers were at this time actuated.

"Set mee up these Bishops once, (called long since the Prince's led-horse) things, if they were never so unlawful, unjust, ungodly and pernicious to kirk and realme, if they shall be borne forth by the countenance, authoritie, care and endeavour of the King, (supposing such a one, as God forbid, come in the roome of our most renouned Sovereign; for to the best hath oftentimes succeeded the worst,) they shall be carried through by his Bishops, set up and entertained by him for that effect; and the rest of the estates not onely be indeed as ciphers, but also beare the blame thereof to their great evill and dishonour. If one will aske, How shall these Bishops be more subject to be carried after the appetite of an evill prince then the rest of the estates? The answer and reason is, because they have their lordship and living, their honour, esti-

reader, that this treatise was printed abroad by an Englishman who had fled from Bancroft's persecutions. The Protestation may be seen in the printed History of Calderwood, pp. 527—531.

* Printed Cald. pp. 527, 536. The Reasons of Protest are inserted at length in a well-written tract by Calderwood, entitled, The Course of Conformity—Printed in the yeare 1622; (pp. 20—48.)

mation, profit and commoditie of the King. The King may set them up and cast them downe, give them and take from them, put them in and out at his pleasure; and therefore they must bee at his direction to doe what liketh him: and in a word, he may doe with them by law, because they are set up against law. But with other estates hee cannot doe so, they having either heritable standing in their roomes by the fundamentall lawes, or then but a commission from the estate that send them, as from the burgesses or barons. Deprave me once the Ecclesiasticall Estate, which have the gift of knowledge and learning beyond others, and are supposed (because they should bee) of best conscience, the rest will easily bee miscarried. And that so much the more, that the Officers of Estate, Lords of Session, Judges, Lawyers that have their offices of the King, are commonly framed after the court's affection. Yea, let Chancellor, Secretarie, Treasurer, President, Controller, and others that now are, take heed that these new Prelates of the Kirk, (as covetous and ambitious as ever they were of old,) insinuating themselves by flatterie and obsequence into the Prince's favour, attaine to the bearing of all these offices of estate and crowne, and to the exercising thereof, as craftily, avaritiously, proudly, and cruelly, as ever the Papisticall Prelates did. For as the holiest, best and wisest angels of light, being depraved, became most wicked, craftie and cruell divells, so the learnedest and best pastor, perverted and poysoned by that old serpent with

avarice and ambition, becomes the falsest, worst, and most cruell man, as experience in all ages hath proved.

“If any succeeding Prince please to play the tyrant, and governe all, not by lawes, but by his will and pleasure, signified by missives, articles, and directions, these Bishops shall never admonish him as faithfull pastors and messengers of God; but as they are made up by man, they must and will flatter, pleasure and obey men. And as they stand by affection of the Prince, so will they by no meanes jeopard their standing, but be the readiest of all to put the King's will and pleasure in execution; though it were to take and apprehend the bodies of the best, and such namely as would stand for the lawes and freedome of the realme, and to cast them into dark and stinking prisons, put them in exile from their native land, &c. The pitifull experience in times past makes us bold to give the warning for the time to come: for it hath been seen and felt, and yet dayly is, in this Island. And finally, if the Prince be prodigall, or would enrich his courtiers by taxations, imposts, subsidies and exactions, layd upon the subjects of the realme, who have been or shall bee so ready to conclude and impose that by parliament, as these who are made and set up for that and the like service *?”

These were not the representations of alarmists, who wished to excite prejudices against the bishops

* Cald. vi. 1158—1162. Course of Conformity, pp. 44—47.

from mere antipathy to their spiritual power. Nor were they the offspring of imaginations disordered by unreasonable jealousy. In the course of a few years the strongest of these predictions were fully and literally verified, to the conviction of those who had treated them as visionary. The bishops, who owed their restitution solely to the favour of the King, and who depended on him as "the breath of their nostrils," did not blush to acknowledge themselves to be his "Majesty's creatures," and devoted themselves in all things to the pleasure of their "earthly creator*": they exerted all their influence to lay the liberties of the nation, and the privileges

* "Most Gracious Soueraigne, May it please your most excellent Majestie, As of all vices Ingratitude is most detestable, I findand my self not only as first of that dead estait quhilk your M. hath recreate, but also in my priuate conditione so ouerquhelmed with your M. princely and magnifick benignitie, could not bot repaire to your M. most gracious face, that so unworthie an *creature* might both see, blisse and thanke *my earthly Creator*." (Original Letter of Archbishop Gladstones to the King, Sept. 11, 1609: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 62.) "We will not be idle in the mean time (says he, in a letter to his Majesty, Aug. 31, 1612) to prepare such as have vote to incline the right way. All men do follow us and hunt for our favour, upon the report of your Maj. good acceptance of me and the Bishop of Cathness, and sending for my Lord of Glasgow, and the procurement of this Parliament without advice of the Chancellor.— No Estate may say that they are *your Maj. creatures*, as we may say, so there is none whose standing is so slippery, when your Maj. shall frown, as we: for at your Maj. nod we must either stand or fall." (Printed Cald. p. 645.) The same servility, though not expressed in such gross terms, runs through a letter to the King by the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Orkney; and a separate letter addressed to him by Archbishop Spotswood. (MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. nums. 65 and 67.)

of the different orders in it, at his feet; while he, in return for their services, loaded them with honours, and advanced them to the highest offices of state. Owing to different causes these effects were more sensibly felt in Scotland, where, if episcopacy had been suffered to remain much longer, the government would have settled into a pure and confirmed despotism. But they were also felt in England. From the time that Henry VIII. caused himself to be declared Head of the English Church, and forced the bishops to take out licenses from him, and to acknowledge that all the jurisdiction which they exercised flowed from the royal authority, the episcopal bench and clergy became dependent on the crown. When the spirit of liberty pervades a nation it will exert an influence upon all orders of men; and there have been instances of English (I cannot say Scottish) prelates, who have nobly withstood the encroachments of arbitrary power, and defended the rights of the people. But still it is reasonable to suppose, (and experience justifies the supposition,) that as a body they will be devoted to the will of the prince, to whom they owe their places, from whom they look for preferment, and by whose authority they perform all acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Candour demands the acknowledgment, that a presbyterian church must also fall into state-subservieney in proportion to the power which the crown obtains in the appointment of its ministers; although this patronage is necessarily limited by the want of preferments in such an establishment, and

checked by the freedom of discussion which takes place in its several assemblies *.

In giving an account of the parliamentary restoration of prelacy, it would be unjust to omit mentioning William Douglas, Earl of Morton, a nobleman who inherited the magnanimity of the Douglasses, tempered by the milder virtues of his illustrious relative the Regent Murray. While he maintained all the hospitality and even magnificence of the ancient barons, his domestic arrangements were conducted, and his fine family reared up, in accordance with the purity of his morals, and the strict regard which he uniformly shewed to the duties of religion. The public conduct of this peer was marked by independence, and he shewed himself a warm and steady friend to the presbyterian church. It was chiefly through his exertions that the parlia-

* "The bishops (says Lord Kames) were universally in the interest of the crown, as they have been at all times, and upon all occasions; and as the whole bishops were for the crown, it was indifferent which eight were chosen." (Essays concerning British Antiquities, p. 53.) This remark unquestionably requires some qualification. But the instance to which Lord Hailes refers disproves it in part only. (Memorials, vol. i. p. 41.) Though all the bishops were "for the crown," they might not all be equally able to maintain its "interests;" and in this respect certainly it was not "indifferent which eight were chosen" as Lords of the Articles. But the reason why the King in 1612 sent a list of bishops was, not that he doubted of the attachment of any of them, but that he might assert his prerogative to nominate them. And the reason why Lord Burleigh wished to change "one or two" on the court-list was, not that he objected particularly to any of the individuals named, but that he might maintain the privilege of the nobility in the election; as he distinctly states in his defence. (Ibid. p. 42.)

ment had formerly passed an act exempting the government of the church from the cognizance of the commissioners appointed on the union. The sickness which soon after put an end to his days prevented him from attending in his place at Perth; but he expressed his strong disapprobation of the act restoring episcopacy, and with his dying breath predicted the evils which it would entail on the country*.

Melville's appearance before the parliament at Perth was the last which he was permitted to make in his native country. His removal from Scotland had been determined on as a necessary preparative to the execution of the projects of the court. Episcopacy still stood condemned by the church, and the bishops remained destitute of all spiritual power. Such was the state of public sentiment and feeling in the country, that any attempt to confer this upon them by the mere exercise of civil authority would have been nugatory, and might have proved dangerous. The only way in which they could hope to succeed was by obtaining the consent of the church-courts to their assuming one degree of episcopal power after another, under false names and deceitful pretexts. Notwithstanding the number of ministers already in confinement, they judged it necessary to get rid of others, before they durst face an ecclesiastical assembly, or bring forward their proposal in its most modified shape. This was ac-

* Simsoni Annales, pp. 53, 112. Printed Cald. p. 492.

complished by one of those politic stratagems which James was so fond of employing. In the end of May, 1606, a letter from the King was delivered to Melville, commanding him, "all excuses set aside," to repair to London before the 15th of September next, that his Majesty might treat with him and others, his brethren, of good learning, judgment, and experience, concerning such things as would tend to settle the peace of the church, and to justify to the world the measures which his Majesty, after such extraordinary condescension, might find it necessary to adopt for repressing the obstinate and turbulent. Letters expressed in the same terms were addressed to his nephew James Melville, to William Scot, minister of Cupar, John Carmichael of Kilconquhar, William Watson of Burntisland, James Balfour of Edinburgh, Adam Colt of Musselburgh, and Robert Wallace of Tranent *.

Having met to consult on the course which they should take, the eight ministers deputed one of their number to converse with the Earl of Dunbar, the Scottish premier, and to request him to deal with his Majesty to excuse them from a journey

* Printed Calderwood, pp. 518, 519.

"June 1606. Item to ane boy passand of Edr. with clos lres that come from his Ma^{tie} To Mr. James Balfoure, Mr. Robert Wallace, and Mr. Adame Colt, xiijs iiij^d.

"Item, To ane other boy passand of Edr. with clos lres that come from his Ma^{tie} To Mr. Andro Melvill, Mr. James Melvill, Mr. W^m Scot, Mr. W^m Watson, Mr. Joⁿ Carmichell and Mr. Henry Philp, xl^s."

(Compot. Thesaur. in Register. House, Edinburgh.)

which they were afraid would prove fruitless, and which would be oppressive to them, on account of the ill health of some of their number and the engagements of all. Under the mask of great friendship, Dunbar urged them to comply with his Majesty's desire; assuring them, that it would turn out the best journey that ever they undertook, that he had advised the measure out of regard to the church, and that the bishops, when made acquainted with the design, were very far from being pleased with it *. Although they placed little confidence in these assurances, the ministers resolved to go to London, after they had waited on the approaching parliament. Indeed, they were shut up to this course; for had they acted otherwise, they would have incurred the charge of disobeying the royal authority, and an order for their incarceration would have been instantly issued. Melville acquainted the presbytery of St. Andrews with the resolution

* There can be little doubt that the bishops both knew and had advised the calling of the ministers to London. In a letter addressed to his Majesty, "19th Junii," (A. 1606,) Gladstones testifies his impatience for Melville's removal, and insinuates his hopes that he would not be allowed to return to St. Andrews. "Mr. Andrew Melvin hath begun to raise new storms with his Eolick blasts. Sir, you are my Jupiter, and I, under your Highness, Neptune. I must say,

Non illi imperium pelagi, sacrumque tridentem,
Sed mihi sorte datum ———

Your Majesty will relegate him to some Æolia,

——— ut illic vacua se jactet in aula."

(Lord Hailes's Memorials, i. 95.)

which he had formed. They declined giving him any commission to act in their name, judging it safer that he and his brethren should appear in their individual character, and not doubting that they would prove faithful to the interest of the church. But they authorized him to receive an extract from their records, containing the subscription of Gladstones to the presbyterian polity, to be used as he should find necessary. Having put the affairs of the college in the best order he could, Melville sailed from Anstruther, in company with his nephew, Scot, and Carmichael, on the 15th of August, and reached London on the 25th of that month. A few days after they were joined by their four brethren, who travelled by land*.

As soon as it was known that they were come to town, they were visited by a number of the ministers and citizens of London who favoured their cause. The archbishops of Canterbury and York sent to inquire for them, and invited them to their houses; but they excused themselves, on the ground that they could pay no visits until they had seen his Majesty†. James, who was absent on a progress through the kingdom, had left his directions for them with Alexander Hay, one of his secretaries for Scotland, and Dr. John Gordon, dean of Salis-

* "1606, Aug. 15, M. Andro Melvil, &c. departit fra Anstruther toward London." (Laird of Carnbee's Diary, in Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 283. Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, pp. 109—111. Cald. vi. 1089, 1190.)

† Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 111.

bury. Gordon was one of their countrymen, a son of the bishop of Galloway, and had himself been at one period presented to that bishopric. Soon after the Reformation, he had gone to France for the sake of his education, and remained in that country until the accession of James to the English throne. On the continent he had attained no inconsiderable degree of literary celebrity, particularly for his skill in the oriental languages *. This talent would have made him an agreeable companion to Melville, had they met on another occasion, and had not the task allotted to Gordon, along with the dean of Westminster, rendered them a kind of honorary guard on the ministers, and polite spies on their conduct.

* On the 4th of January 1567, "Magister Joannes Gordon" obtained a gift under the Great Seal, of the bishopric of Galloway and abbacy of Tunland, vacant by the resignation of Alexander, the last bishop. "*Et nos informati existentes de qualificatione singulari dicti Magistri Joannis Et q^d in hebraica, caldaica, syriaca, græca et latina linguis bene eruditus est—pro subditorum nostrorum instructione,*" &c. In the title of the charter he is said to be "*tunc temporis in Gallia studiis theologicis incumbente.*" (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. i. 14. num. 92.) I must leave it to others to unravel the confusion as to the titles of John, Roger, and George Gordons to the bishopric of Galloway. (Consult Register of Presentation to Benefices for Sept. 16, 1578, and July 8, 1586. Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 181, 290—293. Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 166. Printed Cald. pp. 425, 426.) There is a letter from John Gordon to the Regent Murray, containing political intelligence. (Cotton MSS. Calig. C. 1. 70.) And another to John Fox, on literary topics. (Harl. MSS. 416.) A poem by him is prefixed to "*Plaidoyé pour M. Jean Hamilton.*" And a poem in praise of him is inserted in Delitizæ Poet. Scot. ii. 174. A list of his works may be formed from Wood's Fasti, Bliss's edit. p. 131. and Charters's Account of Scots Divines, p. 3. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.)

Notwithstanding this, Melville and Gordon had their literary hours, in which the stiffness and reserve of their more formal interviews were banished *.

The two Scottish archbishops, Gladstones and Spotswood, with others of the court-party, came to London, to be present at the intended conferences. A rumour prevailed that the King purposed to have the questions at issue publicly disputed, and to renew the scene in which he had himself acted so conspicuous a part at Hampton Court three years before. Melville and his fellows resolved not to engage in any such foolish contest. They had no authority to appear as champions for the Church of Scotland, and were not so arrogant as to take this character upon them. The English divines had no right to interfere with their controversies; and if they chose to dispute, were in no want of antagonists among their own countrymen. And as for those who had come from Scotland, they were not entitled to reason against a government which they had so recently approved by their subscriptions, and sworn to maintain. The ministers were not, however, urged with any proposal of this nature. They received at this time a letter from their brethren who were prisoners in Blackness, expressing the confidence which they reposed in their wisdom and constancy; and charging them not to yield up any part of the liberties of the church of Scotland,

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 120. Melvini Musee, p. 24.

with the view of purchasing for *them* either a pardon or a mitigation of punishment.*

The King shortened his progress; and returned to London sooner than was expected, to meet with the ministers †. They were introduced to him at Hampton Court on the 20th of September, and were allowed to kiss his hand. His Majesty conversed with them familiarly for a considerable time; inquired after the news of the country; and jocularly rallied Balfour on the length of his beard, which, he alleged, had grown prodigiously since he had the pleasure of seeing it in Scotland, and would give him, he was afraid, rather a Turk-like look in London ‡.

Two days after, they were sent for to Hampton Court. On their arrival from their lodgings at Kingston, they were courteously received by Archbishop Bancroft, who left the room as soon as the King entered with the members of the Scottish privy council. His Majesty stated at large the

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 113, 114.

† Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 348.

‡ I have taken my account of the transactions at London and Hampton Court chiefly from the narratives of two of the ministers, James Melville and William Scot, who kept registers of every thing that happened. Calderwood borrows from James Melville. Some important particulars are supplied by the despatches of the French ambassador, M. de la Boderie, who appears to have taken an interest in the affair, and had access to good information by his residence at court, and by means of M. de la Fontaine, one of the ministers of the French Church at London, and a great intelligencer. Spotswood's account is general.

reasons which had induced him to send for the ministers, and concluded by intimating that there were two points on which he demanded an explicit declaration of their judgment: the one was, the late pretended assembly at Aberdeen; including the behaviour of those who had held it; and the other was, the best means of obtaining a peaceable meeting of that judicatory for establishing good order and tranquillity in the church. James Melville, after offering the compliments and congratulations which were suited to the occasion, requested, in the name of his brethren, that they might have time allowed them to deliberate on the answer which they should return to his Majesty's questions. They were required to be ready with their answers on the following day.

On entering the presence-chamber next day, they found it crowded with the principal persons about court. Melville suggested to the Earl of Dunbar the impropriety of their being brought before such a promiscuous assembly; as his Majesty might be offended at their uttering their sentiments, before the English nobility, according to the free manner to which they were accustomed in Scotland. But he was told that the arrangements were already made, and cautioned to be on his guard against saying any thing that was indiscreet or disrespectful in the presence of such honourable strangers. The King took his seat, with the Prince on his one hand, and the archbishop of Canterbury on the other. Around him were placed the Earls of Salis-

bury, Suffolk, Worcester, Nottingham, and Northampton, Lords Stanhope and Knolles, with other Englishmen of rank; besides all the Scottish nobility who were at court. Behind the tapestry and at the doors of the apartment stood several English bishops and deans, who discovered themselves when the conversation became animated. The ministers had previously agreed to return a common answer by the mouth of James Melville. But his Majesty intimated that it behoved each individual to speak for himself; and beginning with the Scottish bishops and commissioners, he asked them what their opinion was concerning the assembly at Aberdeen. They all answered briefly, in their turn, that they condemned it as turbulent, factious, and unlawful. Then addressing Melville, his Majesty said: "You hear that your brethren cannot justify these men nor their assembly. What say you, Mr. Andrew? Think you that a small number of eight or nine, met without any warrant, wanting the chief members, the moderator and scribe, convening unmanfully without a sermon, being also discharged by open proclamation; can these make an Assembly, or not?" To this Melville replied in a speech of nearly an hour's length, delivered with much freedom and spirit, and at the same time with much respect. As for himself, he said, he had for a number of years been debarred from attending on general assemblies and all public meetings; but, as it was his Majesty's will, he would endeavour to give him satisfaction on the different objections

which he had stated. With respect to the paucity of members, there was no rule fixing the precise number; two or three met in the name of Christ had the promise of his presence; an ordinary meeting of a court established by law could not be declared unlawful on account of its thinness; and those who met at Aberdeen were sufficiently numerous for proroguing the assembly to a future day, which was all that they did, and all that they had proposed to do. As to their warrant, it was founded on Scripture, his Majesty's laws, and the commissions which they received from their presbyteries. The presence of the former moderator and clerk was not essential to the validity of the assembly, which, in case these office-bearers were either necessarily or wilfully absent, might, according to reason and the practice of the church, choose others in their room. His Majesty must have been misinformed when he said there was no sermon; for one of the ministers of Aberdeen preached at the opening of the meeting. As to the alleged discharge of the assembly on the day before it met, (turning to Lauriston, who was the King's Commissioner on that occasion,) he said, in a tone of solemn fervour, "I charge you, Sir, in the name of the Church of Scotland, as you will answer before the great God at the appearance of Jesus Christ to judge the quick and the dead, to testify the truth, and tell whether there was any such discharge given, or not."—He paused for a reply; but Lauriston remained mute, and the King, fain to break the

painful silence which ensued, requested Melville to go on to state his reasons for not condemning the conduct of the ministers. "If it please your Majesty to hear me, I have these reasons. First, I am but a private man, come here upon your Majesty's letter, without any commission from the church of Scotland; and as no body has made me a judge, I cannot take upon me to condemn them. Secondly, your Majesty hath, by your proclamation at Hampton-Court," (here he produced and read the proclamation,) "remitted their trial to a General Assembly; expecting there a reparation of wrongs, if any have been done. I cannot prejudge the church and assembly of my vote, which if I give now, I shall be sure to have my mouth shut then, as by experience I and others, my brethren, have found before. Thirdly, *Res non est integra, sed hactenus judicata* by your Majesty's council; whether rightly or not I remit to God, before whom one day they must appear and answer for that sentence. I think your Majesty will not be content that I should now contradict your council and their proceedings. Fourthly, how can I condemn my brethren *indicta causa*, not hearing their accusers objecting against them, and themselves answering?"

The speeches of the other ministers agreed with that of Melville; and what was omitted by one was recollected and supplied by another. The King exhibited evident symptoms of uneasiness, and an anxiety to bring the conference to a close. James Melville, at the conclusion of his speech, presented

a supplication which had been transmitted to him from the condemned ministers. His Majesty glanced over it, and said with an angry smile, "I am glad that this has been given in." An interruption by Sir Thomas Hamilton, the Lord Advocate, led to a legal argument between him and Scot on the trial of the ministers for treason, in the course of which, the lawyer was thought by all to be worsted at his own weapons*. Indignant at hearing that most flagrant scene of iniquity vindicated in the presence of his Majesty and such an honourable audience, Melville fell on his knees, and requested permission to speak a second time. Having obtained it, he gave himself up to all his native fire and vehemence, and astonished the English nobility and clergy with a torrent of bold, impassioned, impetuous eloquence, to which they were altogether strangers. Throwing aside the reserve which he had studied in his former speech, he avowed his belief of the complete innocence of his brethren, and justified their proceedings. He recounted the wrongs which had been done them on their trial, of which he was an eye and ear witness. Addressing the Lord Advocate, he charged him with having favoured trafficking priests, and screened from punishment his uncle, John Hamilton, who had been banished from France, and branded as an incendiary

* Several of the English nobility made handsome offers to William Scot, provided he would consent to remain in England. (Life of Scot, p. 7 : Wodrow's MSS. vol. iv.)

by the parliaments of that kingdom ; while he employed all his craft and eloquence to convict the unoffending and righteous servants of Christ. The arch-enemy himself, he said, could not have done more against the saints of God, than he had done against these good men at Linlithgow ; and not contented with the part which he had then acted, he behoved still to shew himself 'Ο Κατηγορος των Αδελφών *. At this expression the King, turning to the archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, " What's that he said ? I think he calls him Antichrist. Nay, by God ; it is the devil's name in the Revelation of the well-beloved John." Then rising hastily, he said, " God be with you, Sirs." But, recollecting himself, he turned round to the ministers, and asked them, what advice they had to give him for pacifying the dissensions raised in the church ; to which they replied with one voice, *A free General Assembly*.

The ministers were dismissed with unequivocal marks of approbation on the part of those who were present. The English nobility, who had not been accustomed to see the King addressed with such freedom, could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the boldness with which Melville and

* " Il y en a un entr'autres," says the French Ambassador to Marquis de Sillery, " qui lui a parlé avec un étrange liberté en toutes les occasions ; & sur ce que l'Avocat Général d'Ecosse voulut prendre la parole dernièrement contre icelui en la présence du Roi même, il en eut la tête lavée de telle façon, que le Roi & lui demeurèrent sans réplique." (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 435.)

his associates delivered their sentiments before such an audience, at the harmony of views which appeared in all their speeches, and the readiness and pertinency of the replies which they made to every objection with which they were urged. The reports of the conference which were circulated through the city made a strong impression in their favour. They had the effect of dispelling the cloud of prejudice which had been raised against them and their brethren ; and convinced the impartial, that, instead of being the turbulent, discontented, and unreasonable men they had been represented to be, they were only claiming their undoubted rights, and standing up for the ecclesiastical liberties of their country against the lawless encroachments of arbitrary power*.

They had scarcely reached Kingston when they were overtaken by Secretary Hay, who read to them, in the court before their lodging, a charge not to return to Scotland, nor to approach the court of the King, Queen, or Prince, without special license. On the 28th of September, they were sent for to the Scottish council assembled in the Earl of Dunbar's lodgings. James Melville was first called in, and was urged by the Lord Advocate with certain ensnaring questions relating to his opinions and conduct. He refused to answer them. " I am a free subject (said he) of the kingdom of Scotland,

* Melville's *Hist. of the Decl. Age*, pp. 121—124, 141. Scot's *Apolog. Narration*, pp. 177—180. Spotswood, pp. 497, 498.

which hath laws and privileges of its own as free as any kingdom in the world : to them I will stand. There hath been no summonds executed against me. The noblemen here sitting and I are not in our own country. The charge *super inquirendis* was abolished and declared long since to be iniquitous and unjust. I am bound by no law or reason to accuse myself." He besought the noblemen present to remember who they were, and to deal with him (though a mean man yet a free-born Scotchman) as they would themselves wish to be used, according to the laws of Scotland. He told the Lord Advocate, who endeavoured to entangle him with legal quibbling, that, though no lawyer, he was endued with some portion of natural wit, and had in his time both learned and taught logic. " Mr. James, (said Dunbar) will ye not deign to give an answer for his Majesty's satisfaction ?" " With all reverence, my lord, I will (replied he) ; provided the questions be set down, and I may have time to advise on the answers." Melville was called in last. He told the members of the council, " that they knew not what they were doing ; and that they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lands and lives for the freedom of their country and the gospel, which their sons were now betraying and seeking to overthrow *." If they were at all capable of serious re-

* Melville, 132—134. Scot, 180, 181. Report of the Conference Sept. 1606. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 49.

flection, the Scottish nobility must have blushed at their conduct on the present occasion, in forgetting so far what was due to their rank and place as to consent to become the instruments of the court, and of a few ambitious churchmen, to circumvent men who had been insidiously drawn from their homes, and entrap them into declarations which were afterwards to be used against them as criminal charges. They ought plainly to have told their master, that it was neither for his own honour nor that of his native kingdom, (which his new subjects were but too much disposed to condemn,) to have men of such character detained there as suspected persons, and his differences with them exposed to the observation of English peers and prelates; and that, if they were to be held as criminals, they should be sent home to be tried by their own laws and before their proper judges. If true nobility consists in that high and independent spirit, which, whether produced by the recollection of the deeds of ancestry or by other causes, spurns every thing which is dishonourable to the individual or to his country, then Melville and his companions shewed themselves to be, at this time, the nobles of Scotland.

The ministers received in writing the following questions, to which they were required to return answers. *First*, whether they had not transgressed their duty by praying for their condemned brethren, and whether they were willing to crave his Majesty's pardon for this offence. *Second*, whether

they acknowledged that his Majesty, in virtue of his royal prerogative, had full power to convocate, prorogue, and dismiss all ecclesiastical assemblies within his dominions. And, *third*, whether he had not a lawful right, by his royal authority, to call before him and his council all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, for whatsoever faults; and whether all the subjects are not bound to appear, answer, and obey, in the premises. Each of the eight ministers, as directed by the council, gave in answers to the questions. They expressed themselves guardedly, so as not to give the court any advantage against them, but without sacrificing their own convictions or compromising the principles of the church of Scotland. Along with the answers they presented a joint paper, containing their advice as to the best mode of putting an end to the ecclesiastical feuds with which their native country was agitated*.

They were now entitled to expect that they should obtain liberty to return to their homes. They had testified their obedience to his Majesty by coming to London. They had attended all the conferences which he had been pleased to appoint. They had returned answers to the questions which he had proposed to them. They had given him their best advice for re-establishing the peace of the church. If this was not acceptable to his Majesty, and if he chose to act in a different manner, it was at least

* Melville, 136, 142. Scot, 180—187.

incumbent on him, in point of justice and of good faith, to dismiss men whom he had called to his presence in the character of advisers, and not of criminals or suspected persons. But nothing was less intended than this. Their stay was arbitrarily and indefinitely prolonged; and all the arts of the court were put in practice to corrupt and disunite them. Salisbury and Bancroft held interviews with such of them as were thought most complying, and endeavoured to detach them from their brethren *. When this method failed, spies were set on their conduct †; and they were brought into situations in which they might be tempted to say or do something which would afford a pretext for committing them to prison.

His Majesty had selected such of the English dignitaries as were most eminent for their pulpit talents, and appointed them to preach in the Royal Chapel, during the conferences, on the leading points of difference between the episcopalian and presbyterian churches. The Scottish ministers received orders to attend these sermons, and were regularly

* Melville, p. 140. Row, p. 101. Livingston, Charact. art. *William Scot.* "Je n'eusse jamais crus (says the French ambassador) qu'ils eussent résisté de la sorte; car il n'y a eu voie que l'on n'ait tenue pour les gagner. Les disputes y ont été employées, on ledit Roi a déployé tout ce qu'il a sçu. L'on en est venu aux offres & aux promesses, et depuis aux menaces à bon escient; mais tout a été en vain, n'ayant jamais iceux Ministres voulu consentir à aucune des propositions que ledit Roi leur a fait; tellement qu'il est contraint de les laisser là." (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 435.)

† Melville's Decl. Age, p. 146.

conducted, like penitentiaries, to a seat prepared for them, in which they might devoutly listen to the instructions of their titled converters. Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, began with a sermon in defence of the antiquity and superiority of bishops, which the ministers characterized as "a confutation of his text *." Dr. Buckridge, President of St. John's College, preached the second sermon, which was intended to prove the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. It was chiefly borrowed from Bilson's book on that subject, with this addition, that the preacher confounded the doctrine of the presbyterians with that of the papists. The third sermon was preached by Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, on the *silver trumpets* which were blown by the priests at the Jewish convocations, from which his lordship, to the amazement of the ministers, undertook to prove that the convoking of ecclesiastical councils and synods belongs properly to Christian emperors and kings †. Dr. King, Dean of Christ's Church, closed this pulpit-show by an attack upon the lay elders of the Church of Scotland. Collier says that the sermon, "tho' somewhat remote from the words" of his text, was "suitable to the occa-

* His text was Acts xx. 28. The sermon was "written and fynely compacted in a little book, whilk he had alwayes in his hand for help of his memorie." (Melville's Decl. Age, p. 120.) Melville composed a satirical epigram on it. (Musæ, p. 23.) And Barlow retaliated by a versified pun upon his satirist's name. (Walton's Lives, Zouch's edit. p. 353.)

† Melvini Musæ, p. 23.

sion." But the truth is, that the text was as suitable to the occasion as the sermon was. It was very ingeniously taken from the Canticles—" *Solomon had a vineyard at Baalhamon; he let out the vineyard unto keepers **;" and it afforded the preacher an excellent opportunity of paying due compliments to the modern Solomon, the grand *Lay Elder* of the Church of England, who, in virtue of his royal unction, possessed more ecclesiastical authority than all the mitred and cassocked clergy in his kingdom. If this "king of preachers" (as his Majesty used wittily to call him) had at this time an eye to that rich spot of "the vineyard" which was afterwards "let out" to him, he could not have forwarded his object better than by railing, as he did in this sermon, against presbyteries, and crying to his Majesty, *Down, down with them* †. Lest the court-preachers should have failed in setting forth all the virtues of an English monarch, the ministers, on leaving the chapel, were conducted, by the Dean of Sarum, into the royal closet, where they had the gratification of seeing James touch a number of children for the cure of the king's evil ‡.

* Song viii. 11, 12. No body can doubt that the author of *Vitis Palatina* was capable of making a very amusing sermon on this text, and one very gratifying to his royal master.

† Melville's Decl. Age, p. 135.

‡ Melville, 134. One of the panegyrists of James has very seriously alluded to this royal virtue in the following lines:

O happy Britaines, that thus have in One
A just, wise Prince, a prompt Philosopher,

Though the episcopal orations had been more able and more convincing than they really were, it was not to be expected that they would make a favourable impression on those for whom they were immediately intended. The circumstances in which they were delivered were calculated to awaken prejudices which are neither weak nor dishonourable. If ever the Church of England had her days of chivalry, they had then passed by; else her champions would have deemed it foul scorn to attack antagonists who were not at liberty to defend themselves or to return the blows which they received; and day after day to crow like cravens over men who sat bound and shackled before them. Considering that the ministers were constrained to attend, who could have blamed them greatly, if, forgetting the sacredness, not of the place, (for they had no such silly scruples,) but of the service for which they were professedly met, they had at the moment given expression to what they felt at hearing the church to which they belonged so indecently assailed? They listened, however, with the most respectful attention: they even took down notes from the mouth of the preacher. But they did not scruple

A pregnant Poet, a Phisition,
A deepe Divine, a sweet tongued Orator;
A curer both of Kings and poore mans Evill;
What would ye more? a chaser of the Devill.

(The Laudable Life and Deplorable Death of our late peerlesse Prince Henry—By J. M. [James Maxwell] Master of Artes. Lond. 1612.)

to declare, after the service was over, that they thought the sermons very lame in point of argument; and insisted that they should be printed, that they might have an opportunity of answering them*. They were all printed; but when the ministers were preparing to reply, they were ordered to separate, and to take up their lodgings with the bishops†.

On the 28th of September, they were required by a message from his Majesty to be in the Royal Chapel early next day; and Melville and his nephew received a particular charge not to be absent. It was the festival of St. Michael, one of the *Dii minorum gentium* of the English, and was celebrated with much superstitious pomp. Several foreigners of distinction were present, among whom was the Prince de Vaudemont, son to the Duke of Lorrain, and commander of the Venetian army. On entering the chapel, James Melville whispered to his uncle, that he suspected a design to ensnare them and put their patience to the test. The chapel resounded with all kinds of music. On the altar were placed two shut books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted candles. And the King and Queen approached it with great ceremony, and presented their offerings. When the service

* The First of the Four Sermons preached—at Hampton-Court in September last—by William Lord Bishop of Rochester. Lond. 1607. In the prefatory address, "To the Ministers of Scotland, my Fellow Dispensers of Gods Misteries," Barlow mentions the facts stated in the text.

† Melville's Hist. p. 147.

was over the Prince de Vaudemont said, he did not see what should hinder the churches of Rome and England to unite; and one of his attendants exclaimed, "There is nothing of the mass wanting here but the adoration of the host *." On returning to his lodgings, Melville composed the following verses on the scene which he had just witnessed :

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regia in ara,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano an ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit relligiosa lupam †?

By means of some of the court-spies, who frequented the house in which the ministers lodged, a copy of

* Melville, 131, 132. Scot, 180. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 82.

† For the sake of the English reader, who may be desirous to know the treason included in these lines, the following old translation of them, which, though flat, conveys the sense, may be added :

Why stand there on the Royal Altar hie
Two closed books, blind lights, two basins drie?
Doth England hold God's mind and worship closs,
Blind of her sight, and buried in her dross?
Doth she, with Chapel put in Romish dress,
The purple whore religiously express?

Melvini Musæ, p. 24. In this work there are, besides the verses given in the text, a poem by John Gordon, and two by John Barclay, author of *Argenis*, in defence of the *Royal Altar*; and five by Melville in reply. It may admit of a doubt whether the poems which bear the names of Gordon and Barclay were really written by them, or whether the whole were composed by Melville in the form of a poetical *just* or mock encounter. The noted Poetical Duellist, Dr.

these verses was conveyed to his Majesty, who was, or affected to be, highly incensed at them. And it was immediately resolved to proceed against their author.

On the 30th of November, he was summoned to Whitehall, and brought before the Privy Council of England. His Majesty did not attend, but one or two Scottish noblemen were present. Melville frankly acknowledged that he had made an epigram of which that which was now shewn him was an inaccurate copy. He had composed it, he said, under feelings of indignation and grief at seeing such superstitious vanity in a reformed church, under a King who had been brought up in the pure light of the Gospel, and before strangers who could not but be confirmed in their idolatry by what they witnessed at Hampton Court on the occasion referred to. It was his intention to embrace the first opportunity of speaking to his Majesty on the subject, and to shew him the verses. He had given out no copy of them, and he could not conceive how they had been conveyed to his Majesty. He was not conscious of any crime in what he had done. But if he had committed an offence, he ought to be tried for it in his own country: as a Scotchman, he was not bound to answer before the council of England, particularly as the King, his sovereign, was

Eglisbam, attacked Melville's Epigram on the Altar. The edition of his *Duclum Poeticum*, printed in 1618, bears on the title, "Adjeetis prophylacticis adversus Andreæ Melvini Cavillum in Aram Regiam, aliisque Epigrammatis."

not present. The Archbishop of Canterbury, addressing him, began to aggravate the offence, arguing that such a libel on the worship of the church of England was a high misdemeanor, and even brought the offender within the laws of treason. This was too much for Melville to bear from a man of whom he had so unfavourable an opinion as Bancroft. He interrupted the primate. "My lords," exclaimed he, "Andrew Melville was never a traitor. But, my lords, there was one Richard Bancroft, (let him be sought for,) who, during the life of the late Queen, wrote a treatise against his Majesty's title to the crown of England; and *here*, (pulling the *corpus delicti* from his pocket,) *here* is the book, which was answered by my brother John Davidson*." Bancroft was thrown into the utmost confusion by this bold and unexpected attack. In the mean time, Melville went on to charge the archbishop with his delinquencies. He accused him of profaning the Sabbath, of maintaining an antichristian hierarchy, and vain, foppish, superstitious ceremonies; and of silencing and imprisoning the true preachers of the Gospel for scrupling to conform to these. Advancing gradually, as he spoke, to the head of the table, where Bancroft sat, he took hold of the lawn-sleeves of the primate, and shaking them, and calling them *Romish rags*, he said, "If you are the author of the book called 'English Scottizing for Ge-

* Row repeatedly refers to this treatise of Bancroft, and Davidson's answer to it. (Hist. pp. 85, 347.) Bancroft's work is also mentioned by John Forbea. (Hist. of the Ref. p. 33.)

neva Discipline,' then I regard you as the capital enemy of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, and as such I will profess myself an enemy to you and to your proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of my blood: and it grieves me that such a man should have his Majesty's ear, and sit so high in this honourable council." It was a considerable time before any of the council recovered from their astonishment so far as to think of interposing between the poor primate and his incensed accuser. Bishop Barlow at last stepped in; but he was handled in the same uncereemonious way. Melville attacked his narrative of the Hampton-Court Conference, and accused him of representing the King as of no religion, by making him say that, "though he was *in* the church of Scotland he was not *of* it*." He then proceeded to make strictures on the sermon which he had heard Barlow preach in the Royal Chapel. "Remember where you are, and to whom you are speaking," said one of the Scottish noblemen. "I remember it very well, my lord," (replied Melville,) "and am only sorry that your lordship, by sitting here and countenancing such proceedings against me, should furnish a precedent which may yet be used against yourself or your posterity."

He was at last removed, and his brethren were called in. The Lord Chancellor, apprehending that all the Scottish ministers might be equally fiery as

* An English writer has used much stronger language in animadverting on this expression. (Toplady's Hist. Proof, ii. 233.)

the individual who had just been before them, addressed James Melville and Wallace in the mildest and most complimentary style*, and took the task of interrogating them from the primate, that he might conduct it himself in a less offensive manner. They confirmed the testimony of Melville, that no copy of the verses had, so far as they knew, been given out. After the council had deliberated for some time, Melville was again called in; and, having been admonished by the Chancellor to add modesty and discretion to his learning and years, was told that he had been found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, and was to be committed to the custody of the dean of St. Paul's, until the pleasure of the King, as to his farther punishment, should be known. A warrant was immediately issued to the dean, Dr. Overall, to receive the prisoner into his house, to suffer none to have access to him, and to confer with him at convenient times on those points on which he differed from the church established by law, for his better satisfaction and conformity†.

Having got the man of whom they chiefly stood in awe confined, and received assurances that his brethren would be detained at London, the Scottish bishops posted home to hold a packed assembly,

* "Fearing," says James Melville, "as it appeared in using such charming, that force of spirit, whilk he needed not."

† Melville's History of Declining Age, pp. 147—151. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. pp. 188, 189. Row's History, pp. 103—105, 346—348. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 456, 458. The warrant to Dr. Overall may be seen in Dr. Zouch's edition of Walton's Lives, p. 351, note.

After all their preparations they durst not allow a free election of representatives of the church. Missives were addressed by the King to the several presbyteries, desiring them to send such persons as he named to Linlithgow on the 10th of December, to consult with certain noblemen and members of the Privy Council on the means of preventing the increase of popery and curing the distractions of the church. In some presbyteries three and in others six individuals were picked out, according as each had a smaller or greater number of members favourable to the measures of the court; and private letters were addressed to them commanding their attendance at Linlithgow, whether they received a commission from their constituents or not. Feeling this to be an insult on them, as well as an invasion of their rights, some presbyteries refused to give any commission to the nominees of the court, while others positively interdicted them from taking part in the judicial decision of any ecclesiastical question*. The powers of a General Assembly were,

* "We the presb^{tie} of hadington vnderstanding that our brethren Mr James Carmichael Mr David Ogill and James reid are to repair at his hienes comaund upon the tenth of this instant to ane meting of the nobilitie in linlithgow, and considering *quod omnes tangit debet ab omnibus curari, ut quod culpa non careat, qui rei se miscet ad se non pertinenti*; Be thir presents dischargis y^e said brethren to vote conclude or determine of onie things the decision q^of pertainis to ane generall assemblie, and comand thame in our name w^t all humilitie to request the nobilitie thair convenit to be suteris to his mat^{tie} That ane frie generall assemblie may be convocatt as y^e only remeid of all these evillis mentioned in his hienes letter." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Dec. 8, 1606.)

however, assumed by this illegitimate body. The commissioners who acted on the part of his Majesty presented a letter from him, in which he declared it to be "his advice and pleasure," that "one of the most godly and grave and meetest for government" should presently be nominated as moderator of each presbytery, to continue in that office until the jars among the ministers were removed, and the popish noblemen reclaimed; and that the bishops should be moderators of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided. Inclined as most of the members were to gratify the King, this proposal met at first with considerable opposition. It was seen that the new office was a mere stalking-horse to enable the bishops to gain that pre-eminence which they durst not directly assume; or, in the language of some of those who opposed the measure, "*the constant moderators* were the little thieves entering at the narrow windows to open the doors to the great thieves*." To silence these objections his Majesty's commissioners assured the Assembly that he had no intention to subvert the established church-government. The bishops repeated their deceitful protestations, that "it was not their intention to usurp any tyrannous and unlawful jurisdiction over their brethren," and that they would "submit to the censure of the church†." A variety of cautions, similar to those which had formerly been imposed on the voters

* Course of Conformity, p. 50.

† Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 219.

in parliament, and brought forward with the same fraudulent design, were agreed to. The zeal of his Majesty against popery was loudly proclaimed; and hopes were given that he would listen to the intercessions which the Assembly had agreed to make in behalf of the ministers who were in confinement. By these means the strength of the opposition was broken, and the measure carried by an overwhelming majority. When the act of Assembly was afterwards published, it bore that the bishops were to be moderators of provincial synods as well as of presbyteries; and there is great probability in the allegation, that this clause was interpolated after the minutes were sent to London and submitted to his Majesty's revision*.

This Assembly was opened by Law, bishop of Orkney, with a sermon on these words, *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem*; and it was closed with the warmest expressions of thanksgiving and gratulation on account of the uncommon spirit of union and harmony which had been displayed in all its deliberations. None are so loud in their praises of peace as those who are pursuing courses which directly tend to violate it; and in their dialect those are the men of peace who yield a tame submission to all the impositions of authority, or who obsequiously follow in the train of a ruling faction, at the expense

* Buik of Univ. Kirk, 218, b,—221. Cald. vi. 1239—1266; vii. 45—60. Melville, Decl. Age, pp. 151—154. Scot, pp. 189—196, Row, pp. 105—110. Spotswood, pp. 400—502.

of abandoning principle and sacrificing the public good. No sooner was the Assembly over than the different synods and presbyteries received legal charges to admit the constant moderators. All the synods but one, whose name I need not repeat, refused; and their refusal was imitated by a number of presbyteries. Ministers in all parts of the country were thrown into prison, or declared rebels and forced to abscond for a time; and in some places the most disgraceful scenes were exhibited, in consequence of the firmness of the church-courts and the violence of the agents of government*.

There is not a more pitiable situation than that of a good man who has suffered himself to become the tool of an unprincipled faction, and who has not courage to break through the toils in which he has been unwarily caught; whose character is used to sanctify actions which he reprobates, and whose services are demanded to carry into execution schemes of which he never cordially approved, and which he every day sees more and more reason to condemn. Such was the unhappy situation of James Nicolson. The way in which he was led to desert his early friends has been already stated†. From that time he had taken a leading part in forwarding the designs of the court against the liberties of the church; although his behaviour occasionally gave symptoms that "all was not at peace within." After long

* Printed Calderwood, pp. 565—569.

† See above, pp. 18, 19.

hesitation he had lately been prevailed on to accept a bishopric. In imposing the acts of the assembly of Linlithgow, of which he was moderator, he had to brook mortifications which caused him to be pitied even by those who were most offended at his defection from the presbyterian cause. Soon after this he sickened, and on his death-bed expressed the keenest regret for the course he had taken. When his friends proposed sending for a physician, he exclaimed, "Send for King James : it is the digesting of the bishopric that has wracked my stomach." He would not allow his episcopal titles to be put into his testament; and earnestly exhorted his brother-in-law to keep aloof from the court, and not to become a bishop; "for if you do," said he, "you must resolve to take the will of your sovereign for the law of your conscience *."

Melville remained under the *surveillance* of the dean of St. Paul's until the 9th of March, 1607, when he received an order from the privy council to remove to the house of the bishop of Winchester. The messenger having retired without insisting on accompanying him immediately to the dwelling of his new overseer, he took the liberty of visiting his

* Scot, p. 205. Simson, 116. Epist. Philad. Vind. apud Altare Damasc. p. 776. Wodrow's Life of Nicolson, pp. 3, 4: MSS. vol. ii. His Testament runs thus: "I Mr James Nicolson Minist^r at McGill &c." without any mention of his episcopal office. "He deceased in the moneth of August 1607," and left a widow, Jane Ramsay, and three children, James, Margaret, and Bessie. (Commissary Record of Edinburgh.)

brethren ; and, as the court was then entirely occupied in managing the House of Commons, which had shown symptoms of refractoriness, he was allowed to remain with them for several weeks *. They had found means to excuse themselves from taking up their residence in the houses of the bishops, but the order formerly issued to that effect was now renewed. For the confinement of Melville some pretext had been found in the charge brought against him, and the legal proceedings founded on it. In the case of the other ministers nothing of this kind could be alleged. Accordingly, they highly resented this unprovoked encroachment on their liberty. They wrote to Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the clerks of council, desiring to know the grounds on which it proceeded ; but he could assign no cause. They waited on the bishop of Durham, who received them in such a manner as was not calculated to give them high ideas of the welcome which they might expect from their episcopal hosts †. They then addressed a spirited remonstrance to the privy council of England. They complained of being detained in that country, to

* Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 171.

† His Lordship told James Melville, who was appointed to be his guest, that, in order to receive him, it would be necessary to put a gentleman out of his chamber, and two servants into one bed. He invited two of the ministers to dine with him, but before the day came sent a message, saying, that it was not convenient for him to receive them. (Melville, *ut supra*, pp. 161—164.)

the impairing of their health, the wasting of their substance, and the heavy injury of their families and flocks. They protested against the late order of council as a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of their native country, and of the principles of justice, which forbid any man to be deprived of his freedom as long as he is unaccused and uncondemned. It could be considered in no other light, they said, than as a punishment, and for their part they would sooner submit to banishment or imprisonment in a common jail. They were pastors of the church of Scotland, long renowned among the churches of the Reformation; they had houses and incomes of their own with which they were contented; and it was repugnant to their personal feelings, discreditable to their function and the church to which they belonged, and not very honourable to their Sovereign and native country, for them to "feed like belly-gods at the table of strangers," exchange the character of masters and teachers for that of bondmen and scholars, and appear to the world to approve of what they and their religious connexions had always condemned. Wherein had they offended? Was it expected that they should do violence to their judgment and conscience to give his Majesty satisfaction? They knew of no principles held by them which were not sanctioned by the ecclesiastical and civil laws of Scotland. But if it were otherwise, they craved that they might be sent home to be admonished of their

errors by their own church, without putting the lord bishops of England to trouble with them *.

The council referred them to the Archbishop of Canterbury for an answer to their petition ; in consequence of which two of them went to Lambeth. His Grace received them with all the affability of a courtier, and conversed on the subjects which gave them so much pain with the ease and *sang froid* of a politician who knows that his power is firmly established, and that all his measures will be carried into execution. Judging from the exterior of his conduct on this occasion, one could scarcely suppose that he was the same individual who had persecuted the English puritans, and thrown so much abuse on the principles and proceedings of the presbyterian church in Scotland. When the ministers were introduced, he ordered his attendants to withdraw. He apologized for the order of council of which they complained, by alleging that it was intended to provide them with accommodation suitable to their station, seeing it was not the King's pleasure that they should yet return to their own country. James Melville having stated their reasons for declining this compelled courtesy, the primate acknowledged their force, and said, that the bishops themselves did not relish the proposal, though they acquiesced in it to please his Majesty: "for (added

* The order of Privy Council warranting the bishops to receive the ministers, the letter of the ministers to Sir Anthony Ashley, with his answer, and their petition to the Council, are all inserted in Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 157—167.

he) our custom is, after serious matters, to refresh ourselves an hour or two with cards or other games * ; but ye are more precise." Changing the subject, he asked them if it would not be desirable to have the two churches united under the same government. They replied that it certainly would, provided the union was accomplished on sound and scriptural grounds ; but there was great danger of widening the breach by injudicious attempts to close it. " We will not reason upon that matter now," said the archbishop ; " but I am sure we both hold the grounds of true religion, and are brethren in Christ, and so should behave ourselves toward each other. We differ only in forms of government in the church and some ceremonies ; and, as I understand, since ye came from Scotland, your church is brought almost to be one with ours in that also ; for I am certified there are constant moderators appointed in your general assemblies, synods and presbyteries." His Grace went on for a long time in this strain of affected moderation, but real insolence ; not neglecting to say that he was in a better state when he was but Richard Bancroft than now when he was Archbishop of Canterbury. Scot thought it necessary to reply ; and began with saying, that they could not relinquish their ecclesiastical discipline with a *good conscience*. But the primate inter-

* It seems the bishops avowedly violated those canons, the transgression of which, in the most unimportant circumstances, they punished so severely in the puritans. See the Canons of 1603, in Wilkins's Concilia, tom. ii. p. 393.

rupted him with a gracious smile; and, tapping him kindly on the shoulder, said, "Tush, man; here, take a cup of *good sack*." And filling the cup, and "holding the napkin himself," he made them drink *. So, with many flattering expressions, and courtly promises to intercede with his Majesty in their behalf, his Grace dismissed them †.

The unjust judge in the parable was induced to do the widow an act of justice, to be rid of her troublesome importunities. The privy council of England adopted an opposite course; and, as the Scottish ministers persisted in demanding that they should either be proved criminal or treated as innocent, they resolved to terminate the affair by one act of summary injustice.

On the morning of the 26th of April, a servant of the Earl of Salisbury came to the house in the Bow where the ministers were lodged, and delivered a message, requesting Melville to speak with his master at his chambers in Whitehall. Viewing the message in a friendly light, Melville made himself ready and set out with all expedition. His nephew, who was more suspicious, followed him, as soon as he had dressed himself, to the palace, accompanied by Scot and Wallace. Melville came to the inn when he understood of their arrival, and told them that he had waited two hours without

* Osborne says, Bancroft was "characterized for a *jovial doctor*." (Secret History of the court of James I. vol. i. p. 65.) Warner taxes him with want of hospitality. (Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 496.)

† Melville, 168—170. Row, 101, 102. Cald. vii. 14—16.

being able to see the premier. By this time he had been informed that he was to appear before the English council, but did not wish to alarm his friends. "Why do you ask the reason of his lordship's message?" said he: "no doubt, he wishes me to dine with him. But I shall disappoint him; for I mean to take my repast with you." At table he exerted himself to cheer their spirits; acquainted them with the meditations on the second psalm which he had indulged during his walk in the gallery of the palace; and recited the verses which he had made on St. George, the tutelary saint of England, whose festival had lately been celebrated with much foolish pageantry. James Melville, who at that moment could have wished that his uncle had never composed a couplet, addressed him in the words of Ovid:

*Si saperem doctas odissem jure sorores,
Numina cultori pernicioso suo:*

To which he replied, with his usual promptitude, in the next words of the poet:

*Sed nunc (tanta meo comes est insania morbo)
Saxa (malum!) refero rursus ad icta pedem*.*

"Well," said his nephew, "eat your dinner, and be of good courage; for I have no doubt you are to be called before the council for your altar-verses."—"My heart is full and swells," replied he; "and I

* Ovidii Tristia, lib. ii. od. 1.

would be glad to have that occasion to disburden it, and to speak all my mind plainly to them, for their dishonouring of Christ and ruining of so many souls by bearing down the purity of the gospel and maintaining popish superstition and corruptions.”—“ I warrand you,” said James Melville, who was anxious to repress his fervour, “ they know you will speak your mind freely ; and therefore have sent for you that they may find a pretext to keep you from going home to Scotland.”—“ If God have any service for me there, he will bring me home : if not, let me glorify him where ever I be. I have often said to you, cousin, He hath some part to play with us on this theatre.” As he said this, a messenger entered, and acquainted him that the Earl of Salisbury wished to see him. “ I have waited long upon my lord’s dinner, (said Melville) pray him to suffer me now to take a little of my own.” Within a short time two expresses were sent to inform him that the council was sitting and waited for him ; upon which he rose, and, having joined with his brethren in a short prayer, repaired to the council-room *.

His Majesty did not make his appearance ; but he had placed himself in a closet adjoining to the room in which the council was met. A low trick, and disgraceful to royalty, by which the prisoner was encouraged to use liberties which he might not otherwise have taken, and which were overheard by the

† Melville’s Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 178—181.

person who was ultimately to decide upon his fate. The only charge which the council had to bring against him was the *epigram* for which he had formerly been questioned. Irritated as he was by what he had suffered and by what he had seen, he was not prepared to make apologies or retractions. "The Earl of Salisbury (says the French ambassador, to whom we owe the account of this interview) took up the subject, and began to reprove him for his obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge the primacy, and for the verses which he had made in derision of the royal chapel. Melville was so severe in his reply, both in what related to the King, and to the Earl personally, that his lordship was completely put to silence. To his assistance came the Archbishop of Canterbury, then the Earl of Northampton, then the Lord Treasurer; all of whom he rated in such a manner, sparing none of the vices, public or private, with which they are respectively taxed, (and none of them are angels) that they would have been glad that he had been in Scotland. In the end, not being able to induce him to swear to the primacy, and not knowing any other way to revenge themselves on him, they agreed to send him prisoner to the Tower. When the sentence was pronounced, he exclaimed: "To this comes the boasted pride of England! A month ago you put to death a priest, and to-morrow you will do the same to a minister*."

* In the end of 1607, a minister in London was reprimanded for some freedoms which he had taken from the pulpit with the estate of bishops. Having afterwards given out some copies of his sermon, he

Then addressing the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, who were in the council, he said, "I am a Scotchman, my lords, a true Scotchman; and if you are such, take heed that they do not end with you as they have begun with me." The King was more irritated at this last saying than at all which had passed *."

Being prohibited from approaching the palace, the other ministers had employed one of their servants to watch the issue, who, returning at the end of three hours, informed them that Melville was conveyed by water to the Tower. They hastened thither, but were refused access to him †.

It is difficult to say which is most glaring, the injustice or the ridiculousness of the proceedings of the council, first and last, against Melville. He was no subject of England, and no member of the English church: he owed no fealty or subjection to the authorities of either. Called into that country by the letter, and detained in it by the will of his sovereign, he was placed under the protection of the royal authority; and he was entitled to claim the benefit of this, especially at a time when conferences were holding for uniting the two kingdoms ‡. What

was publicly whipped, made to stand four hours in the pillory, and had one of his ears cut off. Two days after he was again brought out, stood other four hours in the pillory, lost his remaining ear, and was condemned to perpetual banishment. (*Ambassades de M. de la Boderie*, ii. 489.)

* *Ambassades de M. de la Boderie*, tom. ii. pp. 207—209.

† Melville's *Hist. of Decl.* Age, p. 181. Row's *Hist.* p. 105.

‡ Dr. Zouch candidly allows that "the behaviour of Mr. Melville during the conference afforded no pretext for detaining him in Eng-

had he done to forfeit this protection? Had he published a libel against the constitution of England? Had he intruded into her temples, or publicly insulted her worship? Had he attacked or even written a single line against one of her *established* rites? He had been forced to listen to discourses which he disliked, and to witness religious ceremonies which he detested. Was he also to be restrained from relieving his mind in private, by indulging in a literary recreation to which he had been addicted from his youth? Or, was it a crime to communicate the effusions of his muse to his brethren who sympathised with all his feelings, and shared in all his secrets? The only copy of the epigram which had been seen was taken by a court-spy who haunted his lodgings for the base purpose of informing against him. But though he had been industrious in circulating it, where was the mighty harm? Was the church of England in such a feeble and tottering condition as to be in danger from a few strokes of a quill? Did she, like the church of Rome, tremble at the report of a pasquinade? Were there none of, all the learned sons whom she had brought up, and of whose achievements she was wont to boast, to rise up and defend her with the weapons with which she had been assailed, that she was obliged to call in the secular arm for her protec-

land," and that he endured "much persecution;" adding, "it is not within my province to arraign the conduct of James for his great severity thus exercised." (Walton's Lives, pp. 350—353.)

tion, and to silence the audacious satirist by immuring him in a dungeon? The council were, in fact, the authors and propagators of the scandal which they punished with such severity. If they had not interfered, the epigram would most probably have remained among the papers of the writer, or have shared the same fate with similar productions, which he amused himself with for the moment and then committed to the flames. But, by their injudicious interference, and in consequence of their having made it the ground of a criminal prosecution, it was circulated through Britain, was despatched by couriers to the different parts of the continent, formed a subject of merriment at the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and even of the Vatican, and continues to this day to be read and relished as a merited castigation of a church, who, while she professed to have broken off all connexion with Rome, shewed a disposition to ape its manners, and to practise some of its silliest and most senseless ceremonies.

My Lord Chancellor Ellesmere was pleased to admonish Melville, at his first appearance, to join gravity and moderation to his learning; and the admonition was good. But really there are some actions so glaringly unjust as to provoke the meekest of men. And there are some scenes so truly ridiculous as to baffle the gravity of the most rigid moralist and the most demure precisian. What shall we think of the Chancellor of all England, with the principal peers and prelates of the realm, assembled in close conclave, spending two solemn

sederants on the demerits of an epigram, critically scanning six Latin lines, endeavouring, like school-boys, to construe them into treason, and in the end gravely finding them chargeable with the anomalous and barbarous fault of *scandalum magnatum*?

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?

Those who approve of these proceedings, will be prepared to palliate their iniquity by quoting precedents and referring to examples equally arbitrary and unjust; and they will be loud in their censures of the deportment of the prisoner on this occasion, and in their declamations against the indiscretion and violence which he displayed in the course of his trial. Others, who are not disposed to join in this condemnation, may lament that, by his vehemement and intemperate language, he should have detracted from the dignity of his defence, given his enemies an advantage against him, and subjected himself to a severer punishment than he would have suffered if he had acted with more moderation and prudence. I feel as little inclined to sympathize with the regrets of this last class of persons, as I do to enter into serious argument with the first. I know of no fixed and uniform standard of discretion by which the conduct of every individual is to be ruled on great and extraordinary occasions. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." It is the voice of the Deity that roars in the thunder and that whispers in the breeze. There are virtues

whose mild influence is grateful and refreshing in the ordinary intercourse of life ; and there are others which are salutary in purifying the social atmosphere, and in relieving it from those oppressive and noxious vapours by which it is apt at times to become impregnated. Some men are blessed with a placidity of mind and a command of temper which nothing can ruffle or discompose. Others are gifted with a keen and indignant sense of whatever is iniquitous and base, with the power of giving expression to what they feel, and with courage to exert that power. Let each use the gift which he has received, to the honour of Him who bestowed it, and to the benefit of mankind ; subject only to those general laws which are common to both. "Quench not the spirit" of holy zeal for God and your country by the cold dictates of a selfish and timorous prudence, calculated to beget a temperance which gives smoothness to the passion of the hypocrite who plays his part on the world's theatre. "If my anger go *downward*," (said Melville to one of his prudent advisers,) "set your foot on it, and put it out ; but if it go *upward*, suffer it to rise to its place*."

He was persecuted for what was no crime, and arraigned before a court which had no legal jurisdiction over him. He was under no obligation to defend himself ; but he had a right to complain. In those who assumed the power to judge him he saw

* Livingston's Charact. art. *Andrew Melville*.

men of high rank and honourable station indeed, but men who were chargeable with many glaring offences and acts of injustice, and whose rank and station had precluded them from hitherto hearing the voice of faithful reproof. If, roused by the unworthy treatment which he met with, he felt it incumbent on him to discharge this dangerous duty, are we prepared to pronounce his reprehensions unwarranted, or to say that they were productive of no salutary and beneficial effect? It is a vulgar error to suppose that the decisions of an impassioned mind are necessarily blind and headlong. While selfishness contracts and cowardice clouds the understanding, the higher emotions impart a perspicacity and an expansion to the mind by which it perceives instantaneously and at one glance the course which it ought to take. Melville knew that his enemies sought an occasion against him, and that an advantage would be taken of the freedom of speech in which he chose to indulge. But he knew also that he could not regain his personal liberty without renouncing his principles and abjuring the cause to which he was resolved inviolably to adhere. Provided he was not permitted to return to his native country, and to resume his academical function, unfettered by sinful or dishonourable conditions, the degree of external restraint under which he might be laid was to him a matter of comparative indifference. Nay, the punishment to which he had for some time been subjected, was, in some respects, more galling than any which the council might be

provoked to inflict. And as it was more revolting to his own feelings, so was it also less creditable to those public interests which in his breast were ever paramount to personal considerations. Had he been contented to "wait pinioned" at the court of England, or had he suffered himself to be quietly removed out of the way, and cooped up in some narrow and remote island *, his name and the reasons of his detention would have been little heard of or inquired after. But his being committed to the Tower as a state prisoner, with the circumstances which led to this, excited great speculation ; and thus the cause for which he was imprisoned came to be talked of and generally known †. That the manner in which he conducted himself in the presence of the English council was not, as has been alleged by some of his enemies, disgracefully violent, may be inferred from the report of impartial persons, and from the irritation which was felt by those whom he attacked. But granting that he gave way to excess, who does not prefer the open, ardent, impetu-

* It appears from a letter of Welch to Boyd of Trochrig, that it was proposed that Melville should be sent to the Isle of Guernsey. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1. 14. num. 100.)

† The French ambassador, after giving an account of the affair, and desiring that it should be communicated to Henry, adds, that it formed the only topic of conversation in London : "*Il ne se parle maintenant ici d'autre chose, et en sont ceux de la Nation en grande rumeur.*" (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, ii. 209.) Along with Melville's epigram, the ambassador transmitted a copy of verses in answer to it, by one of the Royal Secretaries, "from which (says he) you will see the good intelligence that is between the Puritans and those who are about this King." (Ib. i. 458.)

ous, independent, irascible spirit of a Melville, to the close, cold, sycophantish, intriguing, intolerant spirit of a Barlow or a Bancroft? Who would not have taken the place of the prisoner at the bar, with all his errors on his head, rather than have been detected as a crowned spy, listening at the door of a closet, or skulking behind its tapestry? The minute of council committing him to the Tower has, it seems, perished; but History has put the transaction on her record, more durable than those of cabinet-councils, and it will be remembered to the disgrace of its authors, and to the honour of the individual who was the victim of their violent but impotent revenge.

Tell them the men that placed him here
Are scandals to the times,
Are at a loss to find his guilt,
And can't commit his crimes *.

When Melville was thrown into the Tower, the fate of his brethren was also fixed. His nephew was commanded to leave London within six days, to repair to Newcastle upon Tyne, and not to go beyond ten miles from that town on the pain of rebellion. The rest of the ministers were confined in different parts of Scotland; and such of them as were allowed to reside within their own parishes were prohibited from attendance on church-courts, and bound to procure a certificate of their good behaviour from a bishop, or else to return to London

* Defoe's Hymn to the Pillory.

within a limited time*. The allegation that Melville's restraint was owing to the violence of his behaviour is refuted by the treatment which his nephew received. He, at least, had given no offence during his residence in England. On the contrary, his conduct procured for him the approbation of the council, and drew the most flattering commendations from the lips of the Chancellor. Yet he was detained as a prisoner, and could not even obtain liberty to go to Scotland for the purpose of visiting his wife, when she was lying on her death-bed†.

It would be highly improper to pass over one part of the conduct of the ministers. Their journey to England had subjected them to very considerable expense. They had been nine months absent from their own country. They had to support their families at home. Each of them was attended by a servant; and they had kept a hospitable table for such of their acquaintance as chose to visit them in their lodgings at Kingston and in London.

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 181—183. Scot's Apolog. Nar. p. 205. Report of the Conferences: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 49. In the last mentioned MS. are two forms of licence to Balfour, who, it would appear, had objected to the first. After being allowed to remain for some time at Cockburnspath, he was ordered to remove to Frazerburgh in the north of Scotland; but the infirmities of old age forced him to stop on the road, and he was released from his confinement by the hand of death. (Cald. vii. 49.)

† After her death he was allowed, as a special favour, to go to Anstruther to put his family affairs in order; but he was prohibited from preaching, or attending any meeting of presbytery or synod, during his stay, and was bound to return to the place of his confinement at the end of one month. (Cald. vii. 49.)

Soon after they came to court, they received a sum of money to defray the expenses of their journey to England *. But when his Majesty found that there was no hope of their yielding to his wishes, he withheld all further supplies, and directed them to take up their residence with the bishops. Rather than submit to this, they chose to live at their own cost. When they were preparing to leave London, Bamford and Snape, two nonconformist ministers, and Crosley, a respectable apothecary, waited on them with a considerable sum which they had collected among their friends, and begged them to accept of it, to assist in defraying their expenses and supporting their friend whom they were to leave behind them as a prisoner. The Scottish ministers thanked them for their kindness, but declined receiving the gift. They could not accept of it, they said, either in conscience or in honour. They could not conscientiously take it, knowing that there were a great many ministers in England imprisoned or

* "Upon Wednesday the 15th of October the erle of Dunbar sent Robert Jowsie to their lodging, with eight sheets of gray paper full of English money knit up in form of sugar loaves, containing five hundreth merks apeace to every one of them forr their charges and expences in coming to court." (Cald. vi. 1227.) The following extract is a proof of Calderwood's accuracy, and shews at the same time that the money did not come from the English Exchequer. "July, 1606. Item be cōmandemēt of the lordis of counsall: To Mr. James Balfour, Mr. Robert Wallace, Mr. Adam Colt, Mr. Andro Melvill, Mr. James Melvill, Mr. W^m Watstone, Mr. William Scot, and Mr. Joⁿ Carmichaell, ministers, for their charges & expensis in thair journey toward his Majestie, ijm vi^c lxvii^{ll} xiijs^s iiij^d." (Compot. Thesaur. in Register House, Edinburgh.)

silenced for nonconformity, who stood in need of more relief than their friends could afford. Nor could they receive it without dishonouring their sovereign, at whose desire they had undertaken this journey, and who would doubtless reimburse what they had expended; and without disgracing their country, which had already suffered in its reputation, in consequence of the common talk of the people of England, that the Scots came among them to beg and "purse up the money of the land*." Those who are minutely acquainted with the history of these times are aware that the complaints of the English on this head were loud, and uttered in the most contumelious language. Jealousy and national prejudice might lead them to exaggerate; but it cannot be denied that the mean and mercenary behaviour of many of our countrymen, both of the higher and lower orders, who flocked to England after the accession of James, gave too much occasion for fixing this disgraceful stigma on the nation†. On this ground the ministers are entitled to the highest praise for their considerate and dignified conduct.

On the day after his uncle's incarceration James Melville received a note from him, marked by the hand of the Lieutenant of the Tower, requesting

* Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, pp. 188, 184. Row's Hist. p. 106. Simsoni Annal. p. 111.

† Secret History of the Court of James I. vol. i. pp. 143, 172, 217, 369—371. Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 217. De la Boderie, tom. ii. pp. 302, 492, iii. 162.

that furniture for a room might be sent him, along with his clothes and books. The strictest injunctions had been laid on the Lieutenant to allow none to have access to him ; but his nephew contrived, by means of one of the keepers, to obtain an interview with him at the window of his apartment once a-day as long as he remained in London. Nothing which could contribute to his comfort (for his liberation was at that time entirely hopeless) was neglected by this amiable man and affectionate friend. All recollection of his own hardships, and of the afflicted state of his family, was for the time absorbed in the deep and distressing concern which he felt for his captive uncle. It rent his tender heart to think of leaving him in his old age, without a friend to relieve the tedious hours of captivity, and with none to perform the common offices of humanity to him but a rude and unfeeling gaoler. He exposed himself to the risk of being personally apprehended by prolonging his stay for a fortnight after the time fixed for his departure ; and employed all his influence with his friends at court to have the place of his confinement changed from Newcastle to London, that he might be near his uncle, and ready to embrace any opportunity of being serviceable to him. But he was advised to desist from his applications, and to give immediate obedience to the royal injunction, unless he wished orders of a more rigorous kind to be issued. The only favour that could be obtained was a permission to Melville's servant to incarcerate himself along with his master.

Having secured this arrangement for his uncle's comfort, and supplied him with all the money he could spare, James Melville embarked for Newcastle, on the 2nd of July, 1607, from the stairs leading to the Tower; and continued, as the vessel sailed down the river, to fix his eyes, streaming with tears, on the Bastile which enclosed the friend for whom he had long felt an enthusiastic attachment, and whose face he was not again to behold *.

* Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 183. Cald. vii. 35, 39.

CHAPTER IX.

1607—1611.

MELVILLE deprived of the Office of Principal at St. Andrews—Succeeded by Robert Howie—Rigour of his Imprisonment in the Tower—Relaxed—College of Rochelle in France applies for him—He is Consulted on the Arminian Controversy—Fruitless Negotiation for his Liberty—His Fortitude and Cheerfulness—Encourages his Brethren in Scotland by his Letters—His Majesty's Literary Employments—New Attempts for Melville's Liberation—His Design of going to America—His Literary Recreations in the Tower—His pecuniary Misfortune—Death of his Friends—Matrimonial Affair—Ecclesiastical Proceedings in Scotland—Episcopacy approved by General Assembly at Glasgow—Reflections on this—Melville's fellow-prisoners—He is Visited by Cameron and Casaubon—Duke of Bouillon's Application for Him—Opposed by the Court of France—He seeks Admission into the Family of Prince Henry—His Friends at Court—His pecuniary Embarrassments—Sickness—Release from the Tower, and Departure to France.

NO time was lost in depriving Melville of his situation in the university. For this purpose a royal commission was given to four laymen and four bishops, who met at St. Andrews on the 16th of June, 1607. They found Melville's place, as principal of

the New College, vacant, simply upon his Majesty's letter, declaring that the privy council of England had committed him to the Tower for a high trespass, and that he was not to be allowed to return to St. Andrews *. The university did not act with the spirit which they had displayed on a former occasion of a similar kind. Instead of remonstrating against the infringement of their rights by the act of a foreign jurisdiction, they did not even intercede with his Majesty in behalf of an individual who reflected so much honour on their body. To deter the members of the New College from opposition, the commissioners instituted a strict inquiry into the management of their revenues; and so eager were the professors to escape from censure, that they not only acquiesced in the removal of their principal, but were willing to impute to him, in his absence, the blame of irregularities to which they had at least been accessory, if they were not the chief authors of them. The ingratitude and want of feeling which Patrick Melville evinced towards his uncle at this time excited general indignation; and the commissioners availed themselves of it to deprive him of a considerable part of the emoluments to which he laid claim †. The only persons who

* Spotswood's Hist. p. 503.

† The bishops afterwards employed their influence with the court to have Patrick Melville "restored to his first stipend, *in regard of his good affection to his Majesty's service.*" (Letter of Archbishop Spotswood to Sir James Sempill, Oct. 12, 1611: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. i. 14. num. 97.)

had the courage to testify their attachment to Melville were his students, who presented a unanimous petition to the commissioners, requesting that their revered master might be restored to them. It is not to the credit of churchmen that they often discover less generosity and humane feeling in their proceedings than laymen. Not contented with divesting Melville of the office of principal, the clerical members of the commission would have deprived him of his salary for the current year; but the disgraceful proposal was quashed by the lay commissioners, who, though equally disposed to gratify the King, did not participate in the resentment of their colleagues, and were guided by principles of honour*.

It was easy to extrude Melville, but not so easy to find one who was capable of filling his place. This consideration created no small embarrassment to the bishops to whom the arrangement of the business was committed. They were aware that Melville's talents and fame would throw into the shade any successor whom they might nominate; and that they would incur the odium of having sacrificed the interests of literature to the advancement of their own ambitious views. In respect of literary qualifica-

* Letter, John Dykes to James Melville: *Cald.* vii. 43-45. *Epistola Alexandri Humei Andreae Melvino: Melvini Epistole*, p. 310. Hume expresses his unwillingness to believe the report that Jenston had acted an unkind part to Melville, and bears his testimony to the friendly conduct of Robert Wilkie, the principal of St. Leonard's.

tions, and of the place which he already held in the college, Jonston was entitled to be advanced to the office of principal. But he was tainted with Melville's principles. This was the real bar to his preferment, although the infirm state of his health was made the excuse for passing him by. Robert Howie was the person fixed on as uniting the greatest portion of talent with the indispensable quality of a disposition to support the measures of the court. The claims of Jonston being set aside by a mandate from the court, Howie was, on the 27th of July, installed in the office of principal by virtue of a royal presentation, without regard to the comparative trial and election ordained by the parliamentary charter of the college. But conformable as he was, he received his appointment during the King's pleasure only; and when he scrupled accepting it with this limitation, he was told by Gladstones that the royal will was imperious and must be absolutely obeyed. Some of the members of the university had now summoned up as much courage as to protest against his admission, on the ground that no process of deprivation had been led against Melville: but the objection was disregarded, and those who brought it were threatened with being shut up along with the traitor for whom they presumed to plead*.

From hostility to Melville and dread of his being allowed to return to St. Andrews, Gladstones was

* Wodrow's Life of Robert Howie, p. 2.

extremely officious in the whole of this affair. Perceiving his forwardness, the other commissioners took care to devolve on him the most invidious and ungrateful part of their work. In his correspondence with the court, the servile bishop makes a merit of his attending in person at the breaking open of Melville's lodging to give possession to his successor, at the same time that he states that this task was imposed on him to degrade his character in the public opinion. If we may believe the primate, the new principal made his *debut* in such a manner as totally to eclipse the reputation of his predecessor. "Mr. Robert Howie (says he) has been entered to teach in the New College, and that with so much rare learning as not only breeds great contentment to all the clergy here, but also ravishes them with admiration. So that the absence of his antecessor is not missed, while they find, instead of *superficial, feckless inventions*, profitable and substantious theology. What difficulty and pains I have had to settle him here, without help of any other of council or clergy, God knoweth! It was thought that the gap of Mr. Andrew Melville's absence should have furnished such matter of discontent to the kirk and country as should have bred no small mutinie, and should have enforced your Highness to send the prisoner back, *tanquam sine quo non* *." This shews how happy the bishop felt at having been

* Letter, Gladstones to the King, Oct. 28, 1607: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 59.

able to carry through a measure which he had despaired of accomplishing, and is the strongest possible testimony in favour of those talents which he wished to disparage. The lights which Melville's genius threw over the science which he taught are here characterized as "superficial, feckless inventions," while the duller divinity of his less gifted successor is dignified with the name of "profitable and substantious theology." We know from other quarters that Howie's early exhibitions, instead of being received with applause, were treated with disrespect and censure. Having, in his lectures, undertaken the defence of episcopal power, his arguments were refuted by his own students, and he was subjected to a rebuke from the presbytery *. Indeed, from the known sentiments of the ministers, and the partiality of the students to a favourite and persecuted teacher, it is natural to suppose that both of them would be prepossessed against Howie, and disposed to undervalue, rather than to overrate and extol, his abilities and performances.

Robert Howie was born in Aberdeen or its neighbourhood, and educated at King's College there. In company with John Johnston, his countryman and probably his fellow-student, he went to the continent and spent a number of years in foreign universities. He studied under two distinguished divines,

* Row, p. 218.

Caspar Olevian, at Herborn *, and John James Gry-næus, at Basle †; and during his residence at the last of these places gave a specimen of his theological knowledge to the public ‡. On his return to Scotland he became one of the ministers of Aberdeen §. When Marischal College was erected he was appointed principal of that academy, in which situation he continued until the year 1598, when he was translated, by appointment of the General Assembly, to be minister of Dundee ||. He incurred the displeasure of the King by encouraging the

* The Dedication of the first edition of Buchanan's *Sphæra*, "Johanni Comiti a Nassau," is subscribed "Herbornæ ex illustri schola Celsitudinis tuæ, quinto Martii 1586. C. T. Addictiss. Robertus Howæus Scotus."

† His Thesis, on The Freedom of the Will, which he disputed before Grynæus, was printed "Basileæ Typis Oporinianis Anno Christi M.D.LXXXIX." A copy of it in the possession of Mr. David Laing has the following inscription in Howie's handwriting, "M. Roberto Rolloco Howæus mittit."

‡ "De Reconciliatione Hominis cum Deo, Sev de Humani Gen-eris Redemptione, Tractatio Theologica. Avthore Roberto Howæo Scoto. Accesserunt ejusdem authoris disputationes duæ: quarum altera est de Communione fidelium cum Christo: altera de Justifica-tione hominis coram Deo. Basileæ per Sebastianvm Henripetri." 4to. Pp. 157. The colophon is, "Basileæ—Anno CIO IO XCI. Mense Aprili." It has two dedications; the one to Grynæus, and the other "Joanni Jonstono, Viro doctissimo, Popvlari et fratri suo charissi-mo." Sir Robert Sibbald mentions different *Theses* by Howie at Basle 1588—1591. (De Script. Scot. p. 56: conf. ejus Bibl. Scot. p. 116.)

§ The Charter of Erection of Marischal College (April 2, 1593.) is subscribed by "George Erle Marishall,"—"coram his testibus—Magistro Petro Blackburn, Roberto Howæo Ministris Aberdonen." &c.

|| Buik of the Universal Kirk, ff. 192, a, 198, b.

inhabitants of that town to assert their rights in the election of their magistrates*. But after that period he shewed himself conformable to the court, and was one of those who appeared on the side of the bishops in the late conferences at Hampton Court†. Howie's literary and theological acquirements were respectable; but he did not possess the genius, the elegant taste, or the skill in sacred languages, by which his predecessor was distinguished. Though he embarked warmly in the episcopal cause at his first coming to St. Andrews, yet his zeal seems to have afterwards cooled, and he not only favoured those who refused to conform to the English modes of worship, but was in danger of being ejected from his place as a nonconformist‡. He survived the establishment of episcopacy, and remained at the head of the theological college of

* Letter from the King to the Privy Council, Anent the town of Dundee and M. Robert Howie, Oct. 3, 1604. (Lord Haddington's Col. of Letters.)

† Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 177. Melville, p. 126.

‡ Diary of Mr. Robert Trail, Minister of the Grayfriars, Edinburgh, MS. p. 9. Cassandra Scoticana to Cassander Anglicanus: Ep. Dedic. Medelburgi 1618. "Now (my dear Mr Howie) my labours are particularlie directit to you, 1. becaus peculiarlie due unto you as being deryvet from you. 2. heiring heir abroad that for crossing, coping, capping, kneeling, &c. ye had receavit ane summonds of this new necessitie I thought good to yield you this muche consolation, beseeching God to inarme you ayir to divt [defeat?] thame, or patience and humilitie to indure thame, gif thay deale in regour with you." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. probably transcribed from a printed book.)

St. Andrews for some time after the restoration of presbytery *.

The injustice of Melville's imprisonment was heightened by the unnecessary severity with which he was treated in the Tower. A pretext was found for withdrawing the indulgence of having a servant confined along with him. No creature was allowed to see him but the person who brought him his food. He was not even permitted to beguile the irksome hours by his favourite amusement of writing. The use of pen, ink, and paper, was strictly prohibited him †. But tyrants, though they can fetter and torment the body, have no power over the free and heaven-born soul. Melville's spirit remained unconfined and unbroken in his narrow and uncomfortable cell; and he found means of expressing the sense which he entertained of his unmerited sufferings, and his resolution to endure the worst which his persecutors could inflict. When his apartment was examined, its walls were found covered with verses, which he had engraved, in fair and beautiful characters, with the tongue of his shoe-

* It may be proper to state, that throughout the confidential correspondence between Melville and his nephew, there is not an invidious hint thrown out against Howie. James Melville names him with high respect in a letter to his uncle, (Novocastr. Apr. penult. 1610): "*Andream meum, rudimentis Theologiæ et linguæ sanctæ initiatum ut hac hyeme potui, in Scotiam nunc ablegavi, cum mandatis ut Hovii nobilis uxorem ad maritum comitaretur; id enim a me proximis literis petiit Hovius noster.*" (Melvini Epist. p. 161.)

† De la Boderie, Ambassades, ii. 469.

buckle*. In this situation he was kept for about ten months.

James Melville was under great uneasiness lest the health of his uncle should suffer by such rigorous imprisonment, during a winter so remarkable for severity that the Thames continued frozen over

* This fact has been preserved by a foreign writer. (Gisberti Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. iii. p. 52.) The verses from which he quotes are to be found in *Melvini Musa*, p. 28.

Cum Balamitarum sit tanta frequentia vatium,
Cur loquitur toto nullus in orbe asinus?
Non Genius stat contra, asinus non cæditur, ora
Non reserat muto, qui dedit ora Deus.

The following verses were also composed by him at this time :

At vati infœlici instat tibi carceris umbra,
Quin Christi illustri lumine liber ego.
Te tristi exilio, aut fato mutabit acerbo :
Nec triste exilium, mors nec acerba mihi.
Exilium & patria patrio me inducit Olympo :
Mors pro Christo atrox vita beata mihi.

Ibid. p. 22.

Si venissem ultro, spectassem singula et ultro,
Et quæsissem ultro ; tunc mea culpa levis?
At veni jussus, spectavi et singula jussus,
Quæsi et jussus ; nunc mea culpa gravis?

* * * * *

Hoc Belga, hoc Batavus, Germanus, Gallus, et Anglus,
Hoc Liger, hoc Scotus quærit, et hostis Iber
Injussus, quod jussus ego Regique Deoque
Quæsi, officio functus utrique meo.
Solus ego plector, solum me fulmina tangunt,
Solus ego vulgi fabula factus agor.

Ibid. p. 23.

for several months together. He was not relieved from this anxiety until the month of May, 1608, when he received a letter from him written with his own hand in Greek; thanking him for the money which he had sent him, and informing him that his health remained uninjured, and that his imprisonment was now less severe than it had been*. He was removed to a more airy and commodious apartment, was indulged with the use of writing materials, and soon after was allowed to see his acquaintance. This favour he owed to the interest and exertions of his friends at court, and particularly of Sir James Sempill of Beltrees. "Through the kind offices of Sempill," says he, in a letter to his nephew, "I now enjoy more healthful air, though still confined in the Tower. I am put in hopes that I shall have greater liberty within a month or two on the return of *Sine quo nihil*; you know whom I mean, your friend, forsooth, who did not even deign to salute you lately†. Sure, you admire the prudence and caution of the hero‡!"

In the end of the year 1607, and before he had obtained this mitigation of his confinement, the Protestants of Rochelle in France attempted to obtain

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 1, 329.

† The person here meant is the Earl of Dunbar, the King's favourite, who professed great regard for James Melville, with whom he had been intimate in his youth. Melville more than once rallies his nephew on his trusting to the empty promises of this courtier—"Heroe vestro collimitaneo."

‡ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 54.

him to their college, as Professor of Divinity. With this view they gave a commission to Gilbert Primrose, a Scotchman, who had been for some time minister at Bourdeaux, and was then on a visit to Britain *; authorizing him to deal with King James to set Melville at liberty and allow him to come to them. James excused himself from complying with this request, by alleging that he had not yet resolved how to dispose of the prisoner. This negociation gave offence to the French court. Their ambassador at London received instructions to make particular inquiry into the facts. Primrose, on returning to France, was called before the king, and questioned strictly as to the nature of his commission; and the Duke of Sully was ordered to reprimand the inhabitants of Rochelle for carrying on a correspondence with a foreign power without the knowledge and permission of their native sovereign †. Rochelle was one of the fortified cities in the hands of the Protestants, and a principal key of the kingdom. The connexion which it had maintained with England during the reign of Elizabeth, and the weak and vacillating conduct of James, might justify caution on the part of Henry; yet it must be confessed

* Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 289.

† De la Boderie, Ambassades, ii. 386, 430, 433, 486; iii. 26. Sully's Memoirs, v. 14. Lond. 1778. The fact is also alluded to in a letter by James Cleland to King James. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 3. 21.) In Sully's Memoirs it is said that James had acceded to the application from Rochelle; but this is contradicted by De la Boderie.

that this great prince, for some years before his melancholy death, evinced a jealousy of his protestant subjects, and a partiality to the most inveterate of their enemies, which it is difficult to defend either on the principles of gratitude or policy *.

At this time Melville was consulted by both parties on the theological disputes which agitated the church in Holland. These were occasioned by the novel opinions of the celebrated Arminius respecting the origin of moral evil, predestination, free-will and grace; which afterwards spread extensively in all the reformed churches. In the year 1607, Melville received a letter from Sibrandus Lubbertus, Professor of Divinity at Franeker, giving him an account of the sentiments and procedure of the innovators, and requesting his opinion on the subject. This was followed by a letter from Arminius himself, in which he complained that Lubbertus had misrepresented him to foreign divines, and entered at considerable length into a defence of his opinions and conduct †. Arminius possessed an acute and perspi-

* This drew from Du Plessis, who was equally distinguished for loyalty to his sovereign and attachment to his religion, the following striking remarks: "We do not envy your killing the fatted calf for the prodigal son, provided you say with a sincere heart to the obedient son, *Thou knowest, my son, that all I have is thine*, or rather, provided you do not sacrifice the obedient son to make the better entertainment for the prodigal. In fine, I am pleased with whatever is done, provided it turns out well; but I dread those treaties in which *things* are given up and nothing got but *words*, and these the words of men who until of late had no words." (Mémoires, tom. ii. pp. 398, 399.)

† Epistolæ Eccles. et Theolog. pp. 187, 190. Lubbert's letter is addressed "Reverendo et Clarissimo viro D. W. Melvino, Sacræ Theo-

cacious mind, and was well skilled in the controversies of the age; but he was full of confidence in his own powers, flattered himself that he understood all mysteries, and cherished the idea that he was raised up to effect a revolution in religious sentiment, and to give to the world a system of belief entirely new and superior to any thing which had been hitherto received or taught. He was by no means scrupulous in stigmatizing as heretical the opinions of his opponents who hesitated to apply this invidious epithet to his own*. Had his life been spared, he would have produced a much greater change on public opinion than he did; for to his other talents he added the most consummate self-command and address, and kept free from those extravagances and that disgusting display of vanity which have defeated the pretensions of others who had the same lofty idea of their powers and destiny. Melville did not entertain the same favourable opinion of this

logiæ Doctori et Professori in inclyto Sanctandréano." The other is addressed, "*W. Melvino*." In both instances the transcriber has, by mistake, put *W.* for *A. Melvino*. This appears from comparing *Epist. Eccl. et Theol.* p. 220, with Brandt, *Vita Arminii*, p. 322.

* Those who would ascertain the real views and spirit of Arminius must consult the letters which he wrote to his confidential friends. "*Demersa est veritas* (says he) *etiam theologica—in puteo profundo, unde non sine magno labore erui potest.—Ne mirare, Uytenbogarde; puto enim paucos esse qui istum articulum (the doctrine of the Trinity) intelligunt.—Fatebitur Helmichius nullam esse hæresin in ista mea doctrina: at ego dico in Helmichii et aliorum doctrina non unam hæresim, et non exiguam, sed fundamentalem, &c.—Illa proferam quæ putabo veritati, paci et temporis serviri posse,*" &c. (*Epist. Eccles. et Theol.* pp. 39, 87, 139, 147.)

bold speculator which he had formerly expressed concerning Piscator *; and we shall find him opposing his sentiments at a subsequent period.

In the end of the year 1608, he was visited by several persons of rank, who put him in hopes of obtaining a release from prison. At their desire he addressed a copy of verses to the King, which Secretary Hay undertook to present †. We are told that James once pardoned a poet who had satirized him, for the sake of two humorous lines with which he concluded his lampoon; saying, he was "a bitter but a witty knave." But the elegant appeal which was now made to his generosity had no effect on him. By the advice of archbishop Spotswood, Melville also wrote a submissive letter to the Privy Council of England, in which, after mentioning the occasion and motives of his writing the poem which had given them offence, and for which he had suffered an imprisonment of nearly two years, he begged their forgiveness for any expressions in it which might be deemed indecorous or inconsistent with English feelings. This apology, without containing any thing dishonourable to the writer, afforded the court a fair opportunity to relieve him from prison. But no such thing was intended. What sincerity there was in the archbishop's professions of friendship we shall soon see; and what reliance Melville placed on them appears from the account of the affair which he wrote to his nephew. "I have

* Melvini Epist. pp. 67, 96.

† Ibid. p. 24.

sent you a copy of my submission, which Glasgow, your scholar, has taken with him to the King. For the archbishop has been thrice or four times with me, shewing me that the kirk laments my absence, and that his earnest desire is to have me at home. *Sed non ego credulus illis.* Dunbar must have the honour of my deliverance: you may conjecture all the rest that shall ensue. Relying on divine aid, I am prepared for whatever the event may be—to remain here, to return home, or to go into exile. I am well in body and soul, thank God.—Let me know of your welfare, and your news, either historical or conjectural, if not prophetic*.”

During the whole period of his imprisonment, Melville's courage never once failed him, nor did his spirits suffer the least depression. The elation of his mind was displayed in a poem which he wrote at this time, containing an apologetical portrait of himself, and which he tells us, was “extorted from him by the importunity of both friends and foes †.” It was considered as betraying vanity; because it

* Melvini Epist. pp. 29—31.

† It is entitled *Prosopopeia Apologetica*. (Ibid. pp. 22, 23.) Among the writings of Melville, Dempster (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 497.) mentions “*Melviniana superbia*, lib. i. cui exordium,

Scotorum, Anglorum, Gallorum, a sanguine Regum,
Ille ego Melvinus.”

He evidently refers to the *Prosopopeia*, which contains something similar to what he quotes, although not in the exordium. This is one proof among many that Dempster's mistakes were often owing to the circumstance of his quoting from memory.

traced his descent in the royal line, and recorded the services which he had done for his native country. But may not a modest and humble man be placed in circumstances which "compel him to glory?" When those by whom he ought to have been honoured and rewarded traduce and persecute him, and when the credit of the office which he fills, and of the cause which he has espoused, is in danger of suffering through him, he may warrantably overstep the ordinary bounds of modesty, and employ expressions, in speaking of himself, which in other circumstances would be sufficient to convict him of ostentation and folly.

In a letter to his nephew, enclosing this poem and the couplets addressed to his Majesty, he writes thus: "These, you know, are only light recreations in which I indulge for the purpose of recruiting my mind in the interval of severer studies and anxious cares. But I am preparing for a greater undertaking: join with me in wishing it success. I shall execute it, if not according to the importance of the subject, yet, to the utmost of my ability, royally; and shall not dishonour myself or you, to say nothing of others, whether friends or foes, whose expectations, through divine assistance, I shall endeavour not to disappoint. Not that I wish to hurt any one: that is contrary to my natural disposition. But I must prepare to defend the cause in the best manner I can. Shall I fly hope? shall I court fear? or shall I waste the flower of my mind in a state of dubiety between hope and fear? Thus was I wont

formerly to jest with the muses, and thus am I now forced seriously to discourse with you about our affairs, public and private. But away with fears! I will cherish the hope of every thing that is cheering and joyous. Meanwhile I bid you farewell in Christ. Give me frequent and early intelligence of every thing you hear as to our affairs. Again farewell, and take care of your health." In another letter to the same correspondent, he says: "My mind is fresh and vigorous, nor is my bodily strength in the least impaired. I am preparing for the combat, and shall wonder if things pass over thus. I am persuaded that N. (the King) remains unaltered in his intentions, and that it will not be easy to drive him from them. The saying, *Fronti nulla fides*, often comes into my mind. But, leaving events to providence, let us do our duty, and not hesitate to act a courageous part in the cause, and under the auspices of Him who rules in the midst of his enemies. Though we have endured contradiction, we have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin; but this also will we do when called to it by the master of the combat. I am at present engaged in a work which will let our adversaries see how they will be able to keep their feet on the slippery ground of human authority, after they have been driven from the solid and firm footing of divine right*."

These extracts evidently refer to a work on the

* Melvini Epist. pp. 24—28.

episcopal controversy which he had planned. In the course of the year 1608, copies of a sermon published by Dr. Downham in defence of the government of the Church of England were sent down to Scotland, and distributed *gratis* among the ministers, with the view of promoting their conversion to episcopacy. Melville had sent his nephew a hurried review of this sermon when it was first printed*. He now sent him two large letters, containing a luminous, rapid and spirited refutation of the principal arguments for prelacy drawn from scripture and antiquity. These were immediately transmitted to Scotland by James Melville, along with a letter from himself, which shews that they had operated as a cordial in reviving his drooping spirits. "When I reflect (says he to Patrick Symson) on the fortitude and constancy of my banished brethren; when I consider that you have been miraculously plucked from the jaws of the grave and restored to the church; when I muse on the premature death of my friend Nicolson, by which he who possessed such rare gifts was snatched from the current which threatened to carry him completely away,

* Melvini Epist. pp. 1—8. He concludes the review by saying: "Such tautologies and vain babbling I wald never have looked for at this tyme to have proceidit from the man, who is a Logicioner, nor to be directed toward the north for convincing our brethren, who, if they be not corrupted more with the 14000 lib. Sterling, sent thither (as they say) *tanquam aureus hamus*, than with the evidence of this book, they will never be persuaded to leave the truth embraced, &c. *Multos ego vidi ineptos homines, at Phormione neminem. Bilson is more dangerous.*"

and along with him to wreck the interest of religion among us; when I think of the good health of my revered uncle, and the excellent spirits which he enjoys at the close of his climacteric year, and after being shut up in a strait prison during two severe winters and as many scorching summers; and when I perceive that royal authority, bribery, and the most consummate craft and subtilty have hitherto been employed against us with so little success;—I am wonderfully encouraged, and at intervals my breast heaves with the hope that the captives shall yet return, and that the city and temple of our Jerusalem shall again be built.

Huc me raptat amor dulcis, et impotens
Ardor ferre moras. O niveum diem
Qui templo reducem me statuat tuo!
O lucis jubar aureum!*

Nothing less however appears as yet:

— sed cui inops fidit Deus
Spes et vota bonos ducat ad exitus †.

In the mean time, my beloved and upright brethren, on whom the defence of the cause at home is devolved, and whom Jesus, our leader and commander, has placed in the front of the battle, rouse up, fight, stand, shew yourselves men, be strong, and you shall be more than conquerors. O that we who are removed to a distance from you were employed like Moses, Aaron and Hur, on the mountain! Swayed

* Buchanan's Psalm. xlii.

† 1b. Psalm. xiv. a quotation from memory.

by the opinion of my dear brother M. W. C. *, I was once inclined to think that we might tolerate at this time many things which we cannot approve ; but when I consider all circumstances, I am much afraid that such forbearance would prove highly injurious, and deprive us of the simplicity, sincerity, liberty and power of the gospel. Read, I beseech you, again and again and again, these pages of Andrew Melville, written hastily on the spur of the occasion, but fraught with divine truth and learning, and apparently intended for you and your fellow combatants against intruding bishops. When you have perused them, with his petition to the King, return the whole to the bearer, that he may take a copy of them for the use of other brethren †."

Melville was not a little amused in his prison with the accounts which he received of the literary contest in which his Majesty was involved, in consequence of his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance. The cock-fighting, and "the admirable pastime, lately taken up, of hunting or daring of dotterells and other of that nature," in which James had been lately spending the greater part of his time, and at which the people of London were so indignant ‡.

* Probably Mr. William Cowper of Perth.

† Melvini Epist. pp. 44—47.

‡ Winwood's Memor. vol. i. p. 217. The people threatened, if he did not desist from his unkingly sports, to poison his dogs and other game-companions, and to send himself to the hills whence he came. The subject was introduced on the stage, and all the players were for a time banished from the capital by an order from court. (De la Borderie, Ambassades, i. 56, 310.)

were now laid aside, and his Majesty was continually closetted with a select number of the most learned of his clergy. One was employed in writing an answer to Cardinal Bellarmine, and another to the Jesuit Parsons, while a third superintended the impression of Barclay De Potestate Papæ. As James was "never the man that could think a Cardinal a meet match for a King," he chose to call the book which was to appear under his own name, *A Premonition to all Christian Monarchs*. The bishop who made the first draught of this work, and to whom the correction of it was afterwards submitted, found that he had got Penelope's web to weave; for what he finished at night his Majesty undid in the morning; and when the work came at last from the press, it was found necessary to have some parts of it still farther altered, and the poor printer was sent to prison for having given out copies of it before this operation was performed. It was immediately translated into the different modern languages by the clerks in waiting, and sent by special ambassadors to all Christian States, except the Swiss Cantons. But the *Premonition* pleased nobody but those 'against whom it was directed, who, having started a royal stag, were resolved to have sport of him. It was attacked from various quarters, and with great keenness, in replies both serious and satirical. "In the mean time, (says Melville) his Majesty chafes, and every body else chuckles. *Rex ringitur; alii rident* *."

* De la Boderie, *Ambassades*, tom. iv. pp. 271, 301, 318, 324, 372. Melvini *Epist.* pp. 51, 79.

Melville was again tantalized with the prospect of obtaining his liberty. At a convention held in Scotland it had been agreed to petition the King to allow the exiled ministers to return home. On this occasion the bishops acted with great duplicity. They agreed to the petition; and yet they gave the agent whom they sent to London written instructions to apologize to his Majesty for what they had done, and to request him not to set the ministers at liberty*. Spotswood, on going to court, promised to bring Melville along with him, to be placed as principal in the University of Glasgow; and he expressed much regret at his return that he had not been able to effect his purpose†. But we learn from a letter of the archbishop's, that in all this he acted a hypocritical part. "For these matters of the ministers, (says he) please your Majesty, we are here quiet; and their absence will even breed a forgetfulness. The bishop of St. Andrews has peace at will, whereby your Majesty can take up the instruments of his trouble‡." It would appear that archbishop Gladstones had been less cautious than his brother of Glasgow in expressing his real

* Printed Calderwood, p. 602. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 219.

† Cald. vii. 323.

‡ Letter to the King, Nov. 1609: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 65. In this letter Spotswood professes that it was his design to yield up his bishopric, and retire from public life, to shew the world that he was not actuated by ambition. Yet, only two months after this, he accepted the office of an Extraordinary Lord of Session, in addition to those burdens which he had pronounced "insupportable!"

sentiments on this subject. His words had come to the ears of Melville, who, in one of his letters to his nephew, speaks of the Scottish Primate in the following severe terms: "*Vertumnus*, you know whom I mean, the rapacious *Gled** that nestles in the old ruins of the meretricious Babylon, boasts that he has received the King's hand and promise that I shall not see my native country while he lives. *Loripes* (whom it is easy to reprove but impossible to reform) has not forgotten certain words which I addressed to him jocularly when he was dining with me before we left Scotland †." On the subject of their liberation we find James Melville writing thus to his uncle: "I waited on the Chancellor, as he passed through this town on his return to Scotland, and thanked him for the concern which he had taken in your affair. He repeated to me what passed between his Majesty and him, and a long conversation which he had with the primate (to whom his Majesty referred him) in the porch of the palace of Whitehall. His Grace finally promised that he would use all his influence in your behalf with the King, and with the bishops of Scotland, who would not stand in the way of your returning to your college, provided it did not en-

* *Gled*, in the Scottish language, is the name of the *Kite*. This play on the primate's name (including an allusion to the intemperance with which he was charged) occurs in different epigrams written on him. (Simsoni Annales, pp. 129, 130. Melvini Musæ, pp. 18—20.)

† Melvini Epist. p. 48.

danger the peace of the church. 'Leave him to me; I will pledge myself that he shall not take part in any plots against you,' said the Chancellor. I took the opportunity of laying my own case before his lordship. I complained that I was detained here, and deprived of my stipend, though innocent, uncondemned, unjudged, unaccused, without even the shadow of a crime laid to my charge. I begged that I might be permitted to return home and resume the oversight of my poor sea-faring people; or, if this could not be granted, that liberty should be given me to go to France, or at least that my expences here should be borne. With many expressions of regard he promised to take an early opportunity of writing the Earl of Dunbar in our behalf, adding that it would give him the greatest pleasure to be of any service to us *."

Despairing of being permitted to return to his native country, Melville entertained at this time a serious intention of going to the New World, and in pursuance of it had several interviews with a person who had embarked in an extensive colonial expedition. It does not certainly appear to what part of America he purposed to retire, but it was most probably Virginia. "My friend (he writes to his nephew) has prepared a fleet; he has raised two thousand soldiers and four hundred supernumeraries; and is in daily expectation of the return of a servant whom he has sent before him. With a slen-

* Melvini Epist. pp. 121—123.

der fortune and involved in debt, he cherishes sanguine hopes of ultimate success, and omits no part of the duty of a good and prudent commander. I had a visit from him to-day along with his son-in-law. What expectations I should entertain, I know not; but of one thing I am sure that he is a good and worthy man, and wants the means, not the inclination, to do well. I betake myself to my sacred anchor: "seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all other things shall be added to you*."—We can scarcely suppose that the court would hinder his emigration to such a distant quarter of the globe; it is, therefore, most likely that something occurred to divert his mind from the project.

His solitary hours were relieved by the company of two of his name-sons, who successively resided with him, and whom he instructed in languages and philosophy. The one was a son of James Melville and the other a son of one of his brothers, who had left a large family unprovided for†. This last young man was of a romantic and unsettled turn of mind, and appears to have insinuated himself into the af-

* Melvini Epist. p. 55. The English were at this time very eager in forming settlements in America. (De la Boderie, Amb. tom. iv. pp. 263, 264.) Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then in the Tower, had projected the expedition to Guiana which afterwards cost him his life; and Melville, in one of his letters, speaks of one of his grand-nephews, who was with him, wishing to visit that country. (Epist. p. 143.)

† James Melville's son, after leaving the Tower, resided for some time with a Scotchman named Guthrie, who taught an academy in the neighbourhood of London. He was brother to Alexander Guthrie of

fections of his grand-uncle, who was induced to advance him, at different times, sums which his limited finances could not well bear *. But the principal recreation which Melville found was in the cultivation of his favourite muse. Every packet which he sent to his nephew contained one, and some of them three or four of his poetical productions. "I have added to this (says he) the second and sixteenth psalms, both of them warm from the anvil, and the last hastily struck off this morning, so that I have not had time to apply the file to it. I wish you to consider this remark as applying also to the first psalm, which I sent you some time ago, both as to the translation and to the numbers and poetical ornaments. If you compare them with Buchanan's, you will observe a considerable difference. The first psalm almost pleases me †." Men of real genius often defraud the public by the desultory nature of their studies, or by the injudicious choice which they make of subjects on which to exert their talents. This was one of Melville's faults, of which his nephew frequently admonished him. "Why do you require

Edinburgh, and a relation of James Lawson, the minister. He died in the year 1609. (Melvini Epist. pp. 36, 64, 100.) His school was at Hoddesdon in the year 1584. (Life prefixed to Bishop Cowper's Works.) "De filio Andrea quam gratum!" says James Melville, "Guthrei, amicissimi viri, Lucubratiunculam ubi perlegero, testimonio quali author meretur ornabo. Ego ad eos literas dedi. (Melvini Epist. p. 98.)

* Ibid. pp. 143, 153, 170, 305, 306, 324. Letter from A. Melville to Boyd of Trochrig, in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 49.

† Melvini Epist. p. 87.

my judgment of your verses, when you know that I am disposed to form too favourable an opinion of all that you do? However, I will tell you what others say of them. They say that you are doing what has been already well done, contending in vain with the great Buchanan, and neglecting what you ought to do. Notwithstanding, I doubt not that, in the course of providence, better things may be produced than have yet been executed; and I am persuaded that you have not forgotten the work which you promised*." This drew from Melville a defence of his conduct. "I send you certain psalms which I have translated into Latin verse: an Iliad after Homer, forsooth! But I am not like the prince of Latin poets, who says:

*Etsi me vario jactatum laudis amore,
Irritaque expertum fallacis premis vulgi.*

By such trivial performances I do not seek for glory or popular applause, nor do I court the bounty of kings and princes; but I yield to the power, whatever it is, that inspires me; and do not so much seek to escape from private vexations, as obey my ruling passion and indulge my genius. I indulge it the more willingly that I derive advantage mixed with the purest pleasure from such studies, and think that I sometimes elicit the hidden meaning of the prophet which had escaped others. And I employ poetic numbers, that I may make a shew of contending with those champions who have deserv-

* Melvini Epist. p. 93.

edly carried away the palm in this field of literature. It becomes me to think modestly of my own works; we are all ready to flatter ourselves; and where is the individual who does not sometimes slip a foot on this dangerous ground? But I trust to the keeping of the great Ruler of heaven and earth, to whom I have dedicated and devoted my all, and whose glory I wish I could advance with a willingness and alacrity somewhat answerable to the great and manifold proofs of his kindness and beneficence conferred on me*.” —Notwithstanding the dissuasions of his judicious friend, Melville continued his labours on the psalms, and a specimen of them was committed to the press during the time that he lay in the Tower†.

A misfortune which befel him at this time gave him no small uneasiness. His purse, containing all the money which he possessed, and on which he depended for his support during the approaching winter, was stolen. It is probable that this act of theft was committed by one of the keepers of the prison; and in his circumstances it would have been useless and even dangerous to complain or to take steps for recovering his lost property. He was under the necessity, therefore, of applying to James Melville, to whom he conveyed information of the un-

* Melvini Epist. pp. 100—102.

† The only notice of this publication which I have seen is in one of his letters to James Melville, dated “Ex Turri, Jan. 8, 1610.” “Mitto ad te versus aliquot meos typis excusos, ut scias me non temere in Psalmos incurrisse, ex quibus pedem retraho vel invitus.” (Melvini Epist. p. 144.)

pleasant occurrence in the following delicate allegory. "I had lately in my possession upwards of twenty birds of the Seraphic species, kept with no small care, and cherished in a warm nest under the shade of my wings. Whether they were tired of their confinement and seized with a desire for liberty, or what was the cause, I am not prepared to say; but without bidding their unsuspicious host farewell, poisoning their airy wings, they fled, not to return, and have left me to deplore their absence. I soothe my grief by meditating on that beautiful discourse on providence contained in the sixth chapter of Matthew, and by the consciousness that I was not deficient in at least ordinary care. The saying, *The Lord will provide*, often comes to my mind. I have experienced the truth of it through the whole course of my life; my indulgent Father, out of regard to my infirmity, having prevented me hitherto from ever feeling extreme want. Such an accident as this I never before met with, but it is one common to men:

Qualia multa mari nautæ patiuntur in alto.

Be not inquisitive as to the particulars, of which I am neither altogether certain nor altogether ignorant; and I have vowed silence.

Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis.

The loss could not have been foreseen or provided against, and it is counterbalanced by another unexpected event, the friendly treaty respecting the

affairs of our church which is in prospect ; so that it would seem that the master of the feast and supreme disposer of all events has seen meet to mingle for me a bitter-sweet cup. Our excellent friend Traill has visited me and delivered Lindsay's token of remembrance, which I received as a pledge of my restoration to the college *. I am afraid lest the approaching winter should prevent sailing, and put a stop to all communication between us. Wherefore, if you have any thing that can be of use to me, transmit it as expeditiously as possible †."

This call was instantly obeyed. Indeed the purse of James Melville was always at his uncle's command, and his remittances were uniformly conveyed with such readiness and delicacy as made them appear rather as the performance of a filial duty or the discharge of a debt of gratitude, than as gratuitous favours and acts of generosity to a distressed friend. "Riches," says he in the letter which he sent along with the money, "take to themselves eagles' wings, and fly away. But there is enough in the sacred promises to which you refer. He who has such securities may surely rest satisfied. Be of good courage, therefore, my father: the Good Shepherd will supply you abundantly with all good things. I shall send you money, and you will send me songs,

* This refers, probably, to a legacy from Secretary Lindsay, who had been Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews.

† Melvini Epist. pp. 91, 92.

Jucundiora melle et auro,
Et nitidis potiora gemmis.

Let us continue this mutual intercourse ; and I have good hope that you will run short of verses for my use, before I run short of gold for yours *.” Melville’s answer affords a beautiful example of the union of piety and gratitude. “ Your succedaneum for the fugitive gold came most seasonably to my relief. So profusely beneficent has my divine and indulgent Father been towards me as even to exceed my wishes. O that I may be found grateful and mindful of the benefits bestowed on me by him who has accepted me gratuitously in his Son ! O that I may love him, who first loved me, with all my mind, soul, and strength ! and that I may bring forth the fruits of this love, by promoting the good of his church in these difficult times, and amidst all the ingratitude that abounds !—I received the Spanish and British angels, equalling in number the Apostles, the Graces, and the Elements, with a supernumerary one of the Seraphic order : *aurum contra caro*. I do not rejoice so much in them, (although these commutable pieces of money are at present very useful to me) as I do at the renewing of the memory of my deceased friends, and the prospect of our friendship being perpetuated in their posterity, who have given such a favourable pre-sage of future virtue and genuine piety ; for what

* Melvini Epist. pp. 92, 93.

else could have induced them to take such an interest in my affairs at this time? Wherefore I congratulate them, and I rejoice that this favourable opportunity of transmitting friendship inviolate from father to son and grandson has been afforded*. So you have the confidence to say, that the fountain of the muses from which I draw will be exhausted sooner than the vein of that gold mine, whence you extract the treasures with which you supply me so liberally. Hold, prithee! Take care what you say, especially to poets like me, who when I do sing, sing at the invitation of the muses and under their inspiration. This makes me more regardless of the capricious judgment of critics; for in writing verses I do not aim at vain glory or any human reward, but yield a free homage to the muses and seek a liberal recreation to my own mind. About any thing beyond this, I am quite indifferent; only I reckon all the time gained which is spent in these sacred lucubrations, as they help to recal my mind from sensible things to divine contemplation, and fit me for the better discharge of the duties of my station. Nor do I contend with any individual so much as with myself, over whom if I gain an ad-

* This refers to the family of George Greir, from whom James Melville had received part of the money which he sent to his uncle. (Melvini Epist. p. 117.) Greir was second minister of Haddington, (Record of Presb. of Hadd. Jan. 26, 1603.) and married Elizabeth, daughter of James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh. (Testament of Elizabeth Lowsone, in Commissary Record of Edin. April 5, 1615. Comp. Inquis. Return. Gen. num. 142.)

vantage I consider myself as having carried off the prize *."

In the course of this year he had to mourn the loss of several of his relations and acquaintance. His feelings on receiving these melancholy tidings, are expressed in the letters he wrote to his favourite and constant correspondent. "I am just come from reading in the second epistle to Timothy, which has allayed the tumult raised in my breast by the tidings I have received. Yet I cannot but feel. See that the funeral obsequies be duly performed. Let no mark of respect and friendship be wanting to the memory of two brethren—brethren both of them by the bonds of piety, grace, and celestial parentage, and one of them by the additional tie of nature, and still more nearly allied to me than to you. Act, I pray you, a pious and becoming part. Discharge the debt due to grace and friendship, to nature and propinquity. Discharge it with tears, but let them be the tears of Abraham, the father of us all, 'who rose up from weeping for his wife.' These are temporary things: we mind things that are eternal. 'Put the brethren in remembrance,' and exhort them to constancy.—What a loss, in respect of piety and erudition, has the church sustained by the death of my friend the great Scaliger, who, about the end of January, exchanged an earthly for a heavenly country! How can I but be touched and deeply affected for the loss of such a person, and of others

* Melvini Epist. pp. 108—111.

whom I loved in this world, and who have gone before me! Of such there are not a few known to you who belonged to our church, and were allied to us either by natural or spiritual consanguinity. Need I name them? Knox, Arbuthnot, Smeton, Lawson, Row, the two Melvilles, my dearest brothers and your father and uncle, the two brothers, George and Andrew Hay, Pont, Craig, Rellock, Ferguson, Christison, Davidson, your father-in-law Dury, and many others, after whose example, and in whose footsteps we ought to press through all impediments, seeking the crown of glory in that new and straight path which the author and finisher of our faith hath trodden before us, and paved and consecrated for us by his own blood.

Cur tam sollicitis vitam consumimus annis,
Torquemurque metu, cœcæque cupidine rerum,
Æternisque senes curis?-----

Humana cuncta fumus, umbra, vanitas,
Et scenæ imago, et, verbo ut absolvam, nihil.

I am an old man and garrulous; for there is nothing in which old men take greater pleasure than talking. Love also prattles. What do I say? You know it was formerly rumoured that I was in love; and why should I not be seriously so now, seeing I began this last spring to grow young again, and to play the boy—perhaps, that I might imitate you as closely as possible. You know what I mean. *Dictum sapienti* *.”

* Melvini Epist. pp. 76—78.

In Melville's letters to his nephew there is often much playfulness; proceeding from the vivacity of his imagination, and the kindness of his heart, which shewed that the writer possessed a great flow of spirits, and a mind which, though not always exempt from distress, was always at peace with itself, and at ease and in love with the person to whom it imparted without reserve its thoughts and its feelings. He delighted in the *seria mixta joci*; and in discoursing on the gravest and most momentous subjects was wont to relieve his own mind and that of his correspondent by throwing out some pleasant repartee, or suggesting some agreeable and joyous reminiscence. But all this will not account or apologize for the appearance of incongruity and even levity that there is in the concluding part of the last extract—in the sudden transition from lamenting over the dead to jesting on love and matrimony. The following explanation will, however, shew that the writer was never more deeply in earnest than on this occasion. The reader must by this time be aware, although he has not been expressly told, that Melville was a bachelor, and consequently that he was now an old one. He will therefore be surprised to have a correspondence upon a matrimonial affair laid before them; and will find that it is not chargeable with that total absence of every thing worldly which made the love-letters of John Knox so unattractive. To prevent disappointment, however, I must state, that Melville was not the lover; he was only his friend and counsellor. James Mel-

ville, who was ten years younger than his uncle, had now been upwards of two years a widower. During his residence at Newcastle he had become acquainted with a young woman, the daughter of a deceased clergyman in Berwick upon Tweed. Suffice it to say, that the accomplishments of this young lady had made a conquest of his heart, and there was every reason to think that he would marry her. Some of his friends in Scotland, who were of opinion that it was imprudent for him to marry at all, or at any rate to marry one who was so very much younger than himself, communicated the intelligence to his uncle, who, they knew, had greater influence with him than any other individual. Melville was of the same opinion with his friends, and he made the transition alluded to, that he might draw on a correspondence on the subject, and suggest to his nephew the impropriety and unseasonableness of the step which he was meditating.

He had scarcely sent off his letter, when he received one from James Melville, in which, after modestly introducing the affair "beneath well-sounding Greek," he gave him a description of the object of his attachment, who had every recommendation but a fortune, stated the reasons for and against the step which he proposed to take, and earnestly begged his uncle's advice. Melville immediately replied. "On the subject of matrimony (says he) I am at a loss what to write; as I have no experience of that happy state. With you I bow with reverence to

the declarations in favour of it which you quote from the sacred oracles, though my years place me beyond the reach of their application. You state the arguments on both sides with great accuracy; but it is not difficult to perceive to what side you incline. You entirely pass over the widow*, and launch out in praises of the young woman. This gives ground for suspecting your judgment, and for thinking that affection and not reason has the dominion. Love has got admittance and keeps the door fast bolted on reason. Perhaps this is *cum ratione insanire*. I know you have sharp eyes, but in this business it is proper to make use of the ears also." Having suggested some considerations, all in favour of the widow, he adds: "but you know these things much better than I do; and it becomes me to remember the adage *Γλαυκας υς Αθηνας*, or rather, *Sus Minervam*." After some ingenious remarks on the different seasons of human life, backed with the authority of Solon, Seneca, Varro, and Virgil, he concludes: "Thus, my dear James, do I address you with the same freedom which the elder Africanus used with the younger. Act a part becoming your extraction, your judgment, and your prudence. With respect to what I hinted about the age at which your father died, may heaven avert the omen from you, and turn it rather on your friend. *Tu vero serus*

* The lady with whom James Melville lodged at Newcastle, and whom his friends thought a fitter match for him than the object of his choice.

in cœlum redeas. You see what a prolix letter I have written you, and without a spice of wit in it. Advise well. Time, under God, will direct you. The bearer is a-going, and yet I cannot leave off prating to you. Love is fond of prating."—"I congratulate myself, (says James Melville in his reply,) that, by starting the subject of marriage, I have drawn from you three golden pages, filled with proofs of the greatest love to me and of profound learning and prudence. They shall lie in my bosom, in place of a wife, during the winter months, until I have taken that time for deliberation which the affair and my circumstances require. Nevertheless I am resolved to end my days, sooner or later, in honourable wedlock :

Nubila mens est,
Vinctaque frenis,
Hæc nisi regnet."

Having assigned his reasons for thinking that the widow whom his friends recommended would be an unsuitable partner for him, he adds : " I have not forgotten the saying of an ancient sage, ' A man cannot be wise and in love at the same time ;' and I recollect the words of the Italian writer, ' Senza moglie, ben che non senza donna, avenge che le cose che superano le force nostre sono piu in desiderio che in magisterio.' To the instance of my father you might have added that of my brother ; for both of them died in their fifty-third year, a circumstance which occurred to my own mind, and which has

affected me not a little since you objected it. But is it not eligible to have a faithful and affectionate wife, if it were only to watch by one's death-bed and to close one's eyes? and is it not allowed us to enjoy the comforts of life while we live? I thank God I never enjoyed better health. Perhaps it is the last effort of nature, as in the case of my father. Be it so: I will rejoice in it as the first step of my entrance into true life; and much rather would I meet a premature grave than suffer the grief which I would feel at witnessing your death or the ruin of the good cause*."

His uncle was still afraid that the step was an imprudent one; and therefore resolved to use stronger language than he had employed in his former letter, with the view of making him pause, although at the risk of offending him. This was a proof of the truest friendship; for he was at this time deeply in debt to his nephew, and had the prospect of yet needing to make additional draughts on his kindness and liberality. Having made some remarks on the intelligence which James Melville had sent him as to the state of church matters in Scotland, and the prospect of their speedily coming to a crisis, he thus addresses him: "Therefore, I cannot but exhort you to be vigilant, and prepared with renovated vigour to fight this glorious battle, for which you have been restored to health and reserved to this day. All effeminacy of mind must

* Melvini Epist. pp. 81—90, 93—96.

be laid aside; the old man must be put off; and we must behave ourselves stoutly and resolutely, lest in the last scene of the conflict we fail through error or fear, not to say detage, to which every slip of old men is commonly imputed. Your son, Andrew, has, I hope, been with you for several weeks. He, with John, Elizabeth, and Anne, (whose names must renew the memory of your dearest wife,) will prevent you from being fascinated and lulled asleep by the charms of this young woman so distinguished for taciturnity and prudence. The very arguments which you adduce to prove that you are guided in this affair by judgment more than affection, betray affection; not to recur to the age which proved fatal to your relations. I dare not say,

*Otium, Melvine, tibi molestum est:
Otio exultas nimjumque gestis;
Otium Reges simul et beatas
Perdidit urbes.*

But what shall I say of your discourse on sepulchral wedlock, and so forth? It is really quite extravagant, and only shews how much you are carried away by your affections. The plain case is this: You are the father of five children, four of whom are at a very critical age, and two of them daughters, well-born, liberally educated, and approaching to maturity. They need your paternal solicitude and watchfulness. Your brother's children are dependent on you, and require much of your attention. And, in these circumstances, you —————

Conceive that you hear your friend Dykes, with severe brow and ardent eyes, with an impassioned but affectionate tone, urging these and similar considerations upon you. I merely suggest them, and am forced to break off. May the author of all good counsel give you direction. Farewell, and live in the Lord, my dear James, by far the best beloved of all my friends. Take time to deliberate. *Mes-tina lente.*"

It must be confessed that there are in this letter some severe things, and that it contains insinuations which the conduct of James Melville had not merited, and which could not fail to hurt his feelings. It drew from him a spirited reply, in which respect for his uncle, and a conviction of his friendly intentions, though they restrained, could not altogether suppress the irritation which he felt. "It would seem that I have used too great freedom in writing to you on the subject of marriage. To what but this can I trace your unfavourable, not to say injurious, suspicions of me—that I have fallen into dotage, am playing the fool, idling, slumbering, and giving myself up to love. Good words, prithee! I am constrained to answer, lest forbearance should injure my reputation and the cause for which I appear. In answer to the charge of dotage, I might, as Sophocles says, repeat such things as could not proceed from a fool or a dotard. I am not conscious that I have turned a hair's-breadth from the straight course which I have been all along pursuing, or that there is any change in my

conduct, except that, as I draw nearer the goal, I feel my mind, through the grace of Christ, more propense to piety and holiness. I live here daily under the eyes of very acute censors, and yet I have not heard that I have been charged with any thing foolish either in speech or behaviour. It is true that I at present enjoy greater ease than I could wish; but I can say with Virgil's shepherd,

O Melibœe, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

And perhaps I was never less idle than I now am; so that I could give such an account, not only of my former active life, but also of my present repose, as a wise and good man ought to be prepared to give. I certainly do not mean to deny that I take my rest in the night, and enjoy sound sleep; God having blessed me with health and a mind free from corroding solicitude. Nor do I deny that I am in love; but it is legitimate, holy, chaste, sober love. But I think of a second marriage! I do; and I wish I had thought of it two years ago. It is surely very unreasonable that what is 'honourable in all' should be turned to my disgrace. Do not, my chaste father, measure all others by yourself, who, inflamed with the sacred love of the Muses, and reposing in the embraces of Minerva, look with severe indifference on conjugal felicity, and have all your days abstained from it for the sake of purer and more refined delights. But I restrain myself. I do not pretend that I am not under the influence of the affections, for how then could I be in love? All that

I profess is that they are kept under the restraints of reason and religion.—Your friend Dykes talks scoffingly in what he says about sepulchral wedlock. It is a crude cavil, and savours too much of choler. Indeed, I can perceive nothing of any weight in what you adduce, except it be the incongruity of an old man marrying a young woman. But I am not an old man, I am only elderly. She indeed is in the flower of life, being only nineteen years of age. And who that is wise would not prefer for a partner one who is sound in mind and body, modest, yielding, humble, affectionate, open-hearted, sweet-tempered, and thus every way qualified for rendering life agreeable? A widow, or one of more advanced age, who possesses these properties, is *rara avis in terris*. At least I can meet with none such here. If therefore you concede to me the liberty of taking a wife, and do not forbid matrimony entirely, (which I hope you will not do,) you must allow me to choose a fit partner for myself. I have many reasons for not taking a widow, and more for taking a young woman; nor do I want examples of the best men who have acted as I mean to do; such as Knox, Craig, Pont, Dalgleish, and others in our own church. But, that you may know how differently my real friend Dykes * thinks from your fictitious friend of that

* John Dykes was James Melville's brother-in-law, as well as colleague. He married a daughter of John Dury. (Testament Testamentar of John Dury, in Commissary Rec. of Edin. 2d July, 1600. See also above, vol. i. p. 328.)

name, I beg leave to inform you that I have just received a letter from him, in which he congratulates me on my attachment to an excellent young woman who entertains for me a reciprocal affection, will take care of me in my declining years, and be a solace to me during my exile. I have only to request of you, my loving father, that you will form an equally favourable opinion of my intentions, or that at least you will pardon in me what you may not be able entirely to approve *."

This letter convinced Melville that his nephew's resolution was fixed, and that he had proceeded too far in opposing his inclinations. He therefore yielded with as good a grace as possible. "Our friend Bamford has delivered me your very serious and long, but not prolix, letter. The longer the more agreeable; although it contained some things which I could not read without tears.—Your apology, like the garden of Adonis, planted with the most delicious flowers, and adorned with bower-work, exhales nothing but pure and sacred loves, which, although of the most delicate kind, might captivate Minerva instead of Venus :

*Ilam dulcis amor tinctis in Nectare telis
Imbuit: éque suis proprias attexuit alas,
Inque meas quibus acta manus perque ora volaret.*

It has penetrated my heart, not to say wounded it; and almost made me sigh after such happiness. But, alas! it is too late at my advanced age. What

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 114—116, 126—133.

remains, therefore, but that I congratulate you, and encourage you to go on in your virtuous course? You do injustice to my Dykes and me when you accuse us of bantering; a fault which is not more foreign to his disposition than it was to the design of my letter. What, my son! would I mock you on so serious and sacred a subject? Far be this from one who strives against every thing that is unamiable about him, or which merits the dislike of good men. May your love succeed and be crowned with the most fortunate and auspicious issue to you and yours! If I seemed to oppose it, impute this to yourself and your urgent request for my opinion. Nor could I prevail on myself to conceal from you what I heard from others or suspected they would say, that I might excite you to look narrowly to yourself and your affairs at this crisis. I now congratulate and give joy to Melissa as the successor of Eliza. It is my prayer that she may spend many happy years in your company, and, what is more, that she may make you the father of a fair offspring*."

The marriage took place accordingly, and appears to have been attended with happy effects. Melville never had the pleasure of seeing his fair young niece, but he sent his affectionate salutations to "the honied Melissa" in every letter which he wrote to his nephew, who took particular pleasure in acknowledging the compliment. Whatever may be thought

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 134—141, 142, 143.

as to the prudence of his second marriage, it is but justice to James Melville to say, that it had no influence in enervating his mind, or in making him indifferent or remiss in his exertions in behalf of the cause for which he was a sufferer. He rejected the offer of a bishopric, which Sir John Anstruther made him in the name of the King; he refused to purchase his liberty by acceding to conditions inconsistent with his principles*; he continued to counsel and encourage his brethren in Scotland by his letters; and he drew up several writings, historical and apologetical, relating to the church of Scotland, which he only waited the consent of his brethren and a fit opportunity to publish to the world. In this last respect he had some ground for retaliating on his uncle, whom he urged to perform his promises, by putting the finishing hand as speedily as possible to his work on the episcopal controversy. This work, though not laid aside, proceeded slowly, and was often interrupted by studies more congenial to the taste and dispositions of the author. To the friendly remonstrances of his nephew, Melville replied: "By the paraphrases of which I send you a specimen, I sustain the imbecility of my spirit, which hitherto has not been left destitute of Christian confidence, or of any kind of consolation, by him who in his mercy has honoured me to favour his cause, if not by actual services, at least by sincere, though many ways imperfect, purposes and

* Cald. vii. 72, 208.

endeavours. It grieves me that I cannot be present to assist its defenders, and that I can do so little for it in my absence. But why do I say, it grieves me? No; I do not grieve, though I once grieved that I had been so unprofitable to the church of Christ. Without my assistance the supreme Judge hath pleaded his own cause, and he will still plead it*.—In reminding me of my promise, you act a friendly and a prudent part, knowing, as you do, my habitual indolence and supineness. Yet I can redeem my pledge with no great expense or labour. The controversialists to whom you refer, torture the passages of scripture which they allege for pseudo-episcopacy; and their arguments have been already refuted by others. Nor do they place their chief confidence in argument, but in the mask of antiquity, and the pretext of royal authority, which they boastingly represent as absolute and omnipotent. They dare not come out into the open field, nor will they commit themselves in any contest which is not to be finally decided by the arbitrary will of an individual. By means of injunctions, proclamations, edicts, and pretended judicial processes, they break through every barrier, and pervert all laws, human and divine. Keep yourself easy on the head of my ‘thrasonic boasting;’ for I measure the cause by the force of truth and not my own abilities, and look for victory over the prostrate audacity of our adversaries through

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 107, 108.

the divine blessing. In so good a cause I do not despair of being able at least to answer when challenged ; but instead of arrogating any thing to myself, I am disposed to place great confidence in my brethren, whose diligence in preparing for the combat I cannot but highly applaud *."

It is proper now to turn to Scotland, and take a view of those ecclesiastical transactions in which Melville felt so deep an interest. The same arts of court policy which had been put in practice for a number of years continued to be employed for the overthrow of Presbytery. And as its ablest and most resolute defenders were either exiled or imprisoned, these arts were but too successful. The bishops were conscious that there were still great difficulties in the way of their accomplishing their object. While they were at work in removing these, they contrived to lay asleep the jealousy of their opponents, and to bind up their hands, by engaging them in a treaty for peace and accommodation. At a conference held at Falkland in June, 1608, and at a packed General Assembly convened at Linlithgow in the subsequent month, both parties, with professions of mutual regard, agreed to leave the matters in dispute to be settled by a certain number of individuals, and promised upon oath to abstain in the mean time from agitating them, or saying any thing in private or public which might

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 134, 135.

tend to keep alive the dissension *. At a meeting held in May, 1609, they renewed this engagement, and joined in a common address to the King, in which they gave him thanks for his exertions to settle the peace of the church †. When a scheme is on foot for overturning the constitutional liberties of a society, all such engagements to silence and the maintenance of peace are ensnaring and dangerous. In the present instance, the engagement was a virtual retraction of the opposition hitherto managed against episcopacy. It implied an acknowledgment on the part of the Presbyterians, that the point in dispute was indifferent, and consequently might be yielded out of regard to peace, and in obedience to the royal authority. It shut the mouths of such as feared an oath, and exposed them to censure as violators of their promise if they resisted any step which their opponents might take; while it imposed no restraint on those who had the power in their hands, and had shown by their former conduct that they could trample on the most sacred engagements ‡.

It was during this deceitful truce, accordingly,

* Cald. vii. 146, 195—201. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. pp. 211—217. Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, pp. 225, 240—243.

† Cald. vii. 297—310. Scot, pp. 222—227. Melville, pp. 259—265.

‡ In a letter to the King, dated Linlithgow, July last, 1608, the bishops say, "So now, Sir, as we hope for an end of all our contentions, and a prevailing in your Majesty's service," &c. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 61.)

that the ecclesiastical leaders took a step which they had hitherto carefully avoided. They had all along denied that there was any intention of moulding the government of the church after the English form, and had vindicated the changes which had been successively introduced on the ground of their being necessary for recovering the ecclesiastical property, or to give satisfaction to the King. But they now avowed a change of sentiment. A new light, they alleged, had sprung up in their minds during their late studies; they were convinced that episcopacy was more agreeable to Scripture than that form of government which had been established in Scotland; and they were willing to impart the reasons which had convinced them to their brethren who were of a different mind. With this view they proposed that the question should be submitted to a formal dispute. Considering what the conduct of the bishops had been for a course of years, their professions of sudden conversion were more than suspicious, and it was not difficult to trace their "new light" to its genuine source*. However, three of

* When Cowper was made Bishop of Galloway, an old woman who had been one of his parishioners at Perth, and a favourite, could not be persuaded that her minister had deserted the presbyterian cause. Resolved to satisfy herself, she paid him a visit in the Canongate, where he had his residence as Dean of the Chapel Royal. The retinue of servants through which she passed staggered the good woman's confidence; and on being ushered into the room where the bishop sat in state, she exclaimed, "Oh, Sir! what's this? And ye hae really left the guid cause, and turned prelate!"—"Janet, (said the bishop) I have got new light upon these things."—"So I see, Sir (replied

the ministers of Fife,—Scot, Dykes, and Carmichael, accepted their challenge, and prepared for the contest. But it was enough for the patrons of episcopacy to have called in question the received discipline, and they found excuses for putting off the discussion which they had provoked. To assist them in the dispute, or rather to deter their opponents from agreeing to it, Dr. Abbot and two other learned divines were sent down from England. Without wishing to derogate from the talents of the English missionaries, we cannot help saying that they gave but slender proofs of their prowess on this occasion. Had they come to Scotland four years earlier, when the ablest defenders of presbytery were in the country and at liberty, they would have had an opportunity of signalizing themselves honourably as the champions of the hierarchy ; and, notwithstanding the royal insinuation at the Hampton-Court conference, we will venture to say that they would have run no risk of having their doctoral habiliments torn, although the sleeves of their cassocks might perhaps have been a little disordered by the rude fervour of Scottish eloquence. But their coming at the present time and traversing the country in state, bore too strong a resemblance to the conduct of a bravo, who proudly walks the stage, when he knows that his antagonists have been seized by the officers of justice or bound over to keep the

Janet) ; for when ye was at Perth, ye had but ae candle, and now ye've got twa before ye : that's a' your *new light*."

peace. The English doctors were content with insinuating themselves into the good opinion of the ministers in private, and pronouncing eulogiums on their church-polity from the principal pulpits in the kingdom. Dr. Abbot preached before the General Assembly at Linlithgow, and had public thanks given him for his "excellent sermon *." Such commendations were then less complimentary than they have become in the present charitable age, and I doubt not that the sermon was excellent. Indeed, a more prudent choice of a missionary could not have been made. The amiable manners, moderation, and zeal for the reformed religion, by which Abbot was distinguished, could not fail to have a prepossessing influence in favour of his opinions. But if his mission contributed to the overthrow of the presbyterian church of Scotland, she, in her fall, took a severe revenge on her rival. In reward of his services on this occasion, Abbot was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury †; and we are assured, by those who should know the fact, that his semi-puritanical principles and moderate administration were a principal cause of the subsequent ruin of the hierarchy, and triumph of presbytery, in England ‡.

From the accounts of the friendly treaty which were brought him in the Tower, Melville was at

* MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 61.

† Birch's Hist. View of Negotiations, p. 338.

‡ Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 383. Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. pp. 88, 89. 1707. 8vo.

first inclined to form a favourable opinion of that measure. But his nephew, whose proximity to the scene of action gave him a better opportunity of being acquainted with the exact state of matters, and the real intentions of the ruling party, disapproved of it from the beginning, and had warned his brethren against agreeing to it *. “ I am afraid (says he, in a letter to his uncle) that your solution of my scruples is not satisfactory. These twenty individuals (who met at Falkland) were chosen by the General Assembly to determine all matters that were in controversy. They have decided that the truce, and the address approving of the royal measures, shall be published in all the churches of the kingdom, and that none shall speak against them. And they have promised to use their influence to induce their brethren to acquiesce in this decision. The bishops boast to his Majesty of their success, and appeal to the letter subscribed by all the delegates. It is true that our excellent brethren who have been placed in the front of the battle were far from intending this, and are now grieved at the advantage which has been taken of them. But through their over-confidence, the whole discipline has been called in question. It has been with the greatest difficulty that I have been able for some time back to restrain Carmichael, Dykes, and certain others from disputation; so secure were these young men in the strength of the cause (which no doubt

* Cald. vii. 126, 202, 289. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 216.

is commendable) and in their own abilities. But who does not perceive the danger of disputing before such a judge? for the king will be the judge. Therefore I dread the worst—not only the overthrow of the discipline, but also the thralldom of conscience under the mask of forbearance, toleration, and bonds of peace. For what will not episcopal men, popish or protestant, presume to do for the advancement of their schemes? while those of the purer sort will not dare even to mutter. N* has long ago finished a large answer to Barlow; but unless he can secure a maintenance for his family in exile he is unwilling to publish it, and I cannot urge him. I also have many things in my *Adversaria*, but they are as a sword in its scabbard. In the mean time the Greeks are masters of the city, which, if not in flames, is deserted by its defenders†.” Melville could not deny the force of these reasons, but still he was disposed to put a more favourable construction on the conduct of his brethren. “If they have erred (says he in his reply) I am of opinion that they have erred more through fear than self-confidence. If they have been guilty of any oversight, it has proceeded from dejection rather than elation of mind. Nor need we wonder at this, when we read what his Majesty has lately published, in his contest with Bellarmine, the crimes which he imputed to the puritans, and the violent hostility

* Probably Mr. John Carmichael, minister of Ely.

† Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 123—125.

which he shews to the whole of that party. These declarations might make our brethren dread the worst, and induce them to ratify the bond of peace*."

This was one of the amiable traits in Melville's character. He was himself a stranger to fear; and no man was less disposed to make concessions hurtful to truth, or to give way, even for an hour, to the insidious proposals of its adversaries. Yet no man was more ready than he to make allowances for those who failed through defect of courage or of firmness; and provided he was satisfied of their integrity and good intentions, he censured their faults with the utmost reluctance and tenderness. He was even averse to form a harsh judgment of the motives of those individuals whose conduct he most decidedly condemned. "Notwithstanding the stormy season, (says he, in a letter to a friend in Scotland,) I have felt nothing hitherto but fair and pleasant weather, keeping both soul and body in a cheerful disposition. Such is the bountiful grace of our merciful heavenly Father toward me in this vale of misery and shadow of death. So that nothing has come against my heart to trouble me, but the affliction of my brethren, and the bearing down of the cause by the ignorance of some and the craft of others, for charity will not suffer me to suspect malice in any †."

James Melville's predictions were soon verified. During the time agreed on for a cessation of hosti-

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 134.

† Cald. vii. 210.

lities, the bishops were busily employed in strengthening their influence, and in ripening their plans for execution. At the parliament held in 1609, not one of the ministers was present to oppose any measures hostile to the church which might be proposed. The Commissary-courts were suppressed; and the power of judging in matrimonial and testamentary causes, and in all others of a mixed kind, was transferred to the bishops in their several dioceses *. Large sums of money were expended by the King in buying back the alienated episcopal lands and revenues, that the bishops might live in a style suitable to their rank †. Archbishop Spotswood was made an Extraordinary Lord of Session, to prepare the way for the restoration of the episcopal order to the place which they had formerly held in that court ‡. But nothing contributed more to the advancement of their designs than the

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 430, 431. The bishops, in a Memorial to his Majesty, had requested his interposition to procure this power for them. (Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 221. Printed Cald. p. 602.)

† James Melville says that this cost the King "above 300,000 lib. Sterling." (Hist. of the Decl. Age of the Church of Scotland, p. 265. Simsoni Annales, p. 124.)

‡ This was one of the requests in the Memorial referred to in the last note but one. In a letter, dated Feb. 18, 1610, Gladstones says: "Your Majesty may look for uniform and constant service from all my brethren, the prelates, whom also your Majesty will please to encourage,—partly when places in the Session shall vaik by promoting some mōe to the same, whilk will both repair the decay of our livings and patrimony, and procure the dependance of the rest of the ministry, who have their fortunes and estates subject to the pleasure of that judicatory." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 68.)

power which they received from the court to modify or fix the stipends of the ministers. "By augmentation they allured, by diminution they weakened, a number of the ministry; and that so covertly, that one cause was pretended publicly and another alleged in secret *."—"The bishops sit at the helm (says James Melville, in a letter to his uncle); the rest of the commissioners being either removed by them, or withdrawing of their own accord. The bishop of St. Andrews keeps a splendid establishment at Edinburgh, consisting of his wife, children, and a great retinue of servants; and ostentatiously displays his silken robes every Sabbath in Bruce's pulpit before the magistrates and nobility. Crowds of poor ministers, mean souls, besiege his door, press round him when he comes abroad, and for the sake of their stipends (the modifying of which is entirely in his power) do every thing but adore him. What say you to this †?" At last, the power of the bishops was carried to the highest pitch to which the King could raise it, by the introduction of the English Inquisition—the court of High Commission. This detestable court, whose procedure was regulated by no fixed laws or forms of justice, was armed with the united terrors of civil and ecclesiastical despotism. It had the power of receiving appeals from any ecclesiastical judicatory, of calling before it all persons accused of error or immorality, and all

* Printed Cald. pp. 574, 578.

† Melvini Epistolæ, p. 125.

preachers and teachers in schools or colleges, charged with speeches which were impertinent, contrary to the established order of the church, or favourable to those who had been confined or banished for ecclesiastical offences; and, on finding them guilty, it was empowered to depose and excommunicate, to fine and imprison them. The presence of an archbishop was necessary to the validity of all its meetings, and it was easy for him to summon such of his colleagues as he knew to be devoted to his will; so that it was to all intents and purposes an episcopal court. "As it exalted the bishops far above any prelate that ever was in Scotland, so it put the King in possession of that which long time he had desired and hunted for, to wit, the royal prerogative and absolute power to use the bodies and goods of his subjects at his pleasure, without form or process of the common law: so that our bishops were fit instruments of the overthrow of the freedom and liberty both of the church and realm of Scotland *."

Being thus Lords of parliament, privy council, session, exchequer, and regality, Modifiers of stipends, Constant Moderators and Visitors of presbyteries, and Royal High Commissioners, the bishops thought they might now safely submit the question of episcopacy to the determination of a General Assembly. Accordingly, a meeting of that judicatory

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 270—276.

was, at their request, appointed to be held at Glasgow in the month of June, 1610; royal missives were sent to the presbyteries, nominating the individuals whom they should choose as their representatives to it; and the Earl of Dunbar came down from London as King's Commissioner, to be present at its deliberations, and to provide that every thing should be done according to the royal will and pleasure*.

In his letter to the Assembly, his Majesty told the members, that he had expected, that, weary of the anarchy which reigned among them, they would have solicited him before that time to restore the primitive government of the church; but since they had failed in doing this, either through the culpable backwardness of the bishops, or the factious singularity of the meaner sort of ministers, he had been obliged to take up the affair himself. He had called them together, he said, to testify his affection to the church, and "not because their consent was very necessary," for "it was very lawful and granted to him by God" to have done the work "absolutely out of his own royal power and authority;" and they would learn, from the Earl of Dunbar and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to whom he

* In a common letter sent by the bishops to his Majesty, requesting him to call this Assembly, they say: "We shall take, by God's help, the most safe and sure way: and what we undertake, we shall be answerable to your Majesty for performance. *We have all our ministers, even such as were most refractory, at the point of toleration. They will suffer things to proceed and be quiet, because they cannot longer strive.*" (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 66.)

had imparted his mind, what those alterations were which he was determined to make whether they consented to them or not. The Assembly was not of a temper either to resent or resist these magisterial and haughty orders. A committee was appointed to draw up such resolutions as would prove satisfactory to his Majesty, or rather to receive what had already been agreed upon between him and the bishops; and their report was immediately adopted and approved. The General Assembly held at Aberdeen in the year 1605 was condemned, and the right of calling and dismissing Assemblies was declared to be a branch of the royal prerogative. The bishops were declared moderators of Diocesan Synods; all presentations to benefices were appointed to be directed to them, in place of presbyteries; and the power of excommunicating and absolving offenders, of ordaining and deposing ministers, and of visiting all the churches within their respective dioceses, was conferred on them. In ordination and deposition, the bishop was to be assisted by the "ministers of the bounds" (for the name of a *presbytery* was insufferable to the royal ears); and if found culpable he might be removed by the General Assembly, "with his Majesty's advice and consent*."

* In a letter written to his Majesty, March 14, 1610, Spotswood says: "They have at this time a strong apprehension of the discharge of presbyteries; and, for the standing thereof in any tolerable sort, will refuse no conditions: *so it were good to use the opportunity, and cut them short of their power, and leave them a bare name, which for the present may please, but in a little time shall vanish.*" (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1. 12. num. 44.)

But these limitations of the episcopal power were merely a blind thrown over the eyes of the simple ; and accordingly, they were excluded from the subsequent ratification of the acts of the Assembly by Parliament *. There were only five votes against the resolutions. Primrose, and some other ministers in Ayrshire, intended to protest against the whole proceedings, but means were found to prevent them from carrying their purpose into execution.

Constituted as this Assembly was, it is altogether unnecessary to enter into any particular account of the way in which it was managed. It had no pretension to be regarded as a regular meeting of the supreme judicatory of the church of Scotland ; it had not the semblance of that freedom which belongs to a lawful assembly ; and as it would have been less insulting to the nation, so it would have been equally good in point of authority, if the matters enacted by it had been at once proclaimed by heralds at the market-cross, as edicts emanating from the royal will. One fact only shall be stated. The Commissioner produced a proclamation, which he said he was appointed to make, abolishing presbyteries, and prohibiting them to meet for the future. While alarm and grief at this intimation sat on the countenances of the members, some of the nobility, who

* In the preamble of the act of parliament, the conclusions of the General Assembly are thus introduced : " In manner, substance, and effect following ; with the explanation maid be the estaitis of parliament presentlie convenit of some of these articles resolved vpoun in foirsaid assemblee of Glasgow." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 469.)

were instructed to act their part in the farce, rose and entreated the Commissioner to keep back the proclamation until the King should be informed of their present proceedings ; upon which his lordship, with affected condescension, acceded to their proposal, and promised to join with them in soliciting his Majesty to rest satisfied with what the Assembly had done, and to permit the presbyteries to continue. This transaction deterred any from appearing as protesters, and it was industriously circulated through the country, to induce ministers and people to submit to the obnoxious decisions. Bribery, as well as artifice, was practised on the members of this assembly, which obtained the name of the *angelical* assembly, in allusion to the name of the coins distributed on the occasion *. Those who voted with the court endeavoured to excuse their receiving these “wages of unrighteousness,” by alleging that they were given them to defray their travelling expenses †. Two years were allowed to elapse before the acts of this Assembly were ratified, and the

* Sir James Balfour says, the Earl of Dunbar distributed among the ministers “40,000 merks to facilitate the matter and obtain their suffrages.” (Crawford’s Officers of State, p. 398.) Nothing, it was said, was to be seen about Glasgow, for some time after the assembly, but *angels*. A travelling pauper, named James Read, who had been there in the course of his profession, having heard what a country minister got for his vote, railed on him as a fool for selling his Master for *two* angels, when he (the pauper) had got *three* for nothing. (Simsoni Annales, p. 124. Row’s Hist. p. 160. Proceedings of the Assemblée holden at Glasgow in 1638 : MS. *penes me*, p. 66.)

† Cald. vii. 389—406. Row, 147—155. Melville’s Decl. Age, 277—284. Scot., 233—240. Wodrow’s Life of Law, p. 9.

laws in favour of presbytery rescinded, by parliament*.

Thus, after a struggle of more than ten years, was Episcopacy established in Scotland. The way in which it was introduced exhibits a complete contrast to the introduction of the ecclesiastical polity which it supplanted. Presbytery made its way by the weapons of argument and persuasion, without the aid of the civil power, which viewed its progress with a jealous eye, and raised its arm repeatedly to crush it. Its patrons avowed from the beginning all that they intended, and never had recourse to falsehood or fraud to accomplish their favourite object. And it had been rooted in the opinions and affections of the nation long before it obtained a legal establishment. Episcopacy, on the contrary, was the creature of the state. It had the whole weight of the authority and influence of the crown all along on its side; and even with this it could not have prevailed, or maintained its ground, without the aid of those arts to which government has recourse for carrying its worst and most unpopular measures. Deceit and perfidy and bribery were joined to fines, and imprisonments, and banishments, and the terrors of the gibbet. Dissimulation was the grand engine by which the presbyterian constitution was overthrown. While the court disgraced itself by a series of low and over-reaching tricks, the aspiring clergy plunged themselves into

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 469, 470.

the deepest and most profligate perjury. They refused no pledge which the jealousy of the church-courts, awakened by the measures of government, required of them. When engaged in a scheme for overthrowing the established discipline, they renewed the assurances of their inviolable attachment and adherence to it *. With the most solemn asseverations and execrations, they disclaimed all inten-

* On the 2d of August, 1604, all the members of the presbytery of St. Andrews, including Gladstones, renewed their subscription of the National Covenant, and at the same time subscribed the act of parliament, 1592, which ratified presbytery, as an authentic explanation of the discipline which they swore to maintain,—“ to testify their harmony and hearty agreement in all things both concerning doctrine and discipline; promising solemnly to defend the same always, according to their callings, and never to come in the contrary according to the great oath set down in the foresaid Confession of Faith.” And what was the form of this oath? “ Promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God’s fearful judgment. And seeing that many are stirred up,—to promise, swear, and subscribe deceitfully,—we therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his kirk, protest and call the searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath, and subscription,” &c. To this engagement, sanctioned by this awful appeal and protestation, did Gladstones set his hand immediately after the moderator of the presbytery. (Extract from the Record of Presb. of St. And. in Melville’s Decl. Age, pp. 109—111.) Spotswood and Law subscribed *the Book of Policy*, among the members of the presbytery of Linlithgow. (Rec. of Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, Oct. 6, 1591.) And, in the year 1604, they renewed their pledges. (Simsoni Annal. pp. 89, 107. Printed Calderwood, pp. 484, 485.)

tion of bringing prelacy into the church, and swore to observe the cautions enacted to guard against its admission. Every change which was made was declared to be the only one intended ; but no sooner had the alarm excited by it been allayed than it was followed by another, until at last the whole system of the hierarchy was introduced and established by the exertions of those who had so frequently disowned and abjured it. No expressions can be too strong in reprobating a scene of deliberate, systematic, and persevering prevarication and perfidy, to which it will not be easy to find a parallel in the whole history of political intrigue, and which, as practised by churchmen, must have had the most pernicious influence on religion, by debasing the character of its ministers, especially in the estimation of the higher ranks, whom they now vied with in honours, and sought to supplant in the highest offices of the state. A victory gained by such arts was more dishonourable than many defeats. It required only another triumph of a similar kind to secure the perpetual proscription of episcopacy from this country, and to fix a stigma upon it which must induce its warmest admirers to wish that every trace of its existence were erased from the annals of Scotland.

A Scottish gentleman of the name of Colville communicated the result of the assembly at Glasgow to Melville. He was deeply affected by the intelligence ; and continued for a considerable time in a state of profound and distressing silence. When his grief at last found utterance, it vented itself in

a vehement denunciation against the Commissioner, Dunbar, whom he regarded, and justly, as the prime agent in overturning the ecclesiastical liberties of his native country *. Not that he wanted considerations to alleviate the distress which he felt on this occasion. His conscience acquitted him of having wilfully failed in any part of his duty during the long and painful struggle ; and he had the satisfaction to reflect, that though the cause was unsuccessful, its honour remained untarnished. Until he and his associates were removed out of the way by fraudulent and forcible means, the enemy gained no real advantage, and durst not attack the citadel, notwithstanding their knowledge of the treachery and feebleness of many of its defenders. With all his vanity and boastfulness, Gladstones acknowledged that they would have been unable to execute their designs, if Andrew Melville had remained in the country and been at liberty. The firm and independent, though oppressed and overborne, opponents of episcopacy were the real victors ; and it was not without reason that Melville applied the elegant

* Scot reports Melville's words to have been, " that man (Dunbar) that hath overthrown that kirk and the liberties of Christ's kingdome there shall never have the grace to set his foot in that kingdome againe." (Apolog. Narrat. p. 248.) And the same account is given by Row. (Hist. p. 158.) But in the confidential correspondence between Melville and his nephew, there is not the most distant allusion to any prophecy, although Dunbar's death is repeatedly mentioned. It is most probable that a prophetic turn was given to Melville's words after the sudden death of the premier ; and this remark may be extended to many of those sayings which have been recorded as prophecies in the lives of good men.

description of an ancient historian to himself and his fellow-combatants : “ *Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur ; multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur.—Neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus, quam quum decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuimus*.*”

The overthrow of presbytery afflicted James Melville as acutely as his uncle ; but it did not surprise him so much, as he was less sanguine in his hopes of a successful resistance, from the knowledge which he possessed of the actual state of matters in Scotland. Before the late General Assembly sat down, his fears had anticipated the issue, and he had bewailed it in the most tender strains in his letters to his brethren †. Jealous of the personal interviews and epistolary correspondence which he held with his brethren in Scotland, the bishops procured an order to remove him from Newcastle to Carlisle, where he would have it less in his power to counteract their plans. The only consolation which he had in the prospect of this change of abode was the opportunity that it would give him of meeting with his much esteemed friend and fellow-sufferer, John Murray ‡. But by means of his friends at court he

* Melvini Epist. p. 27 : ex Sulpitii Severi Hist. Sac. lib. i. cap. 33.

† See his letter to William Scot in Printed Calderwood, p. 614.

‡ John Murray, minister of Leith, was at this time confined in Dumfries-shire. He was prosecuted for a sermon containing some free remarks on the conduct of the bishops, which had been printed without his knowledge. The Privy Council sustained his defence,

obtained a revocation of the order, and was permitted to take up his residence at Berwick*. If he was indebted for this favour to the interest of the Earl of Dunbar, he met at the same time with an injury from that nobleman, which cured him of any inclination which he still felt to rely on his patronage, and which may be added to the numerous proofs of the good faith of courtiers. "I cannot conceal from you (says he, in a letter to his uncle) the affront which I have received from my lord of Dunbar. On passing through this place to Glasgow, he charged me once and again and a third time—ultroneously charged me, when I was asking no such favour of him, to send for my son Andrew, and have him in readiness to accompany him when he returned to the south; as he intended to place him in one of the English universities, and would supply him with every thing that he needed. At considerable expense I recalled the young man from France, and, placing him before his lordship on his return, I told him that my son waited his orders. He took no notice of him; but mounting his horse and contracting his brows, stretched out his hand to me, and departed without uttering a word †."

but the bishops procured a letter from the King, reprimanding the Council, and ordering Murray into confinement. (Regist. Secret. Concil. Royal Letters, &c. 20th March, and 30th April, 1608; and 5th March, 1609. Printed Cald. pp. 580—582.) His sermon was printed along with "Informations or a Protestation, A. 1608;" but it is rarely to be found in the copies of that tract.

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 150, 166.

† Ibid. pp. 183, 184.

This proud man was soon after brought down from his elevation, and laid where "the kings and counsellors of the earth rest with the prisoners, who no longer hear the voice of the oppressor."

Melville was visited in the Tower by several of the supporters of episcopacy, whom he received in such a way as to testify his sense of their courtesy, at the same time that he told them his opinion of their conduct with his characteristical frankness and warmth. "Two of my old scholars (says he) called on me when they were lately here. The sight of them made my mouth water; and I poured forth my indignation on them in my usual manner. I did not dissemble the injury done to the brethren through their fault. I exhorted them to return to their duty and not to go on to 'fight against God.' The injuries done to myself I forgave the commonwealth and church. I shewed them that the arms of all ought to be turned against the common enemy, unanimity and fraternal concord cultivated, and the exiled brethren recalled. They agreed with me on these points, but pleaded that the King is bent on maintaining order, and he must be obeyed in all things:

Et veterem in limo ranæ cecinere querelam.

I parted with these civil gentlemen on the most civil terms; and they of course will trumpet everywhere the praises of your friend's profound erudition *."

* *Melvini Epistolæ*, p. 54.

Among his visitants was his countryman, John Cameron, who had come over at this time from France. As he was favourable to the ecclesiastical plans of the court, a dispute soon ensued between them. Cameron was dogmatical and loquacious, and Melville was not disposed to allow him to run away with the argument. When they were hotly engaged, the Tower bell gave warning that all visitors should retire, and the combatants were reluctantly separated. At parting, Melville admonished Cameron, that being a young man, he should beware of "being lifted up with pride," and of disparaging that discipline, which, from the time of the Reformation, had formed an integral part of religion in his native country, and had hitherto resisted the attacks of all its adversaries, both domestic and foreign *.

He had at this time an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with Isaac Casaubon; but he found the sentiments of that great scholar much altered from what they were when his epistolary correspondence with him commenced. During his residence at the French court, Casaubon's attachment to the reformed religion had been shaken, and the Roman Catholics entertained confident hopes of making him a convert, when his patron, Henry the Great, was assassinated†. On that tragical

* Melvini Epist. pp. 112, 113.

† When Rosweid afterwards published that Casaubon had intended to profess himself a Roman Catholic, the statement was strongly contradicted by his son Meric, and by Jacobus Cappellus. But it is evident from his own letters, that Casaubon, although he could not

event he retired into England, and was warmly received by James and the bishops. But though he obtained a dispensation to hold two prebends without entering into holy orders, the tasks allotted to him were neither creditable to his talents nor congenial to his feelings*. He who had devoted his life to the cultivation of Grecian and Oriental literature, and who had edited and illustrated Strabo, Athenæus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polyænus, and Polybius, was now condemned to drudge in replying to the Jesuit Fronto le Duc, correcting his Majesty's answer to Cardinal Du Perron, refuting the *Annals* of Cardinal Baronius, and, what was still more degrading, writing letters to induce his illustrious friend De Thou to substitute King James's narrative of the troubles of Scotland in the room of that which he had already published on the authority of Buchanan. Melville is mentioned as one of three individuals in whose learned society he found relief from these irksome and ungrateful occupations†. The warm approbation of the constitution of the

easily digest some of the grosser articles of the Popish creed, was seriously deliberating on the change; and his son has kept back a part of one of his letters which contains strong evidence to that purpose. (*Merici Casauboni Epistolæ*, pp. 85, 89, coll. cum *Epist. Isaaci Casauboni*, p. 607. *Epist. Eccles. et Theol.* p. 250.) Du Moulin wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells advising him by all means to detain Casaubon in England; as there was every reason to fear his recantation if he returned to France. (*Casauboni Vita*, ab Almelo. p. 55.)

* Birch's *Hist. View of Negotiations*, p. 340.

† *Casauboni Vita*, p. 54.

church of England which Casaubon expressed, and the countenance which he gave to the consecration of the Scottish prelates at Lambeth, were by no means agreeable to Melville *. But notwithstanding this, he received frequent visits from him in the Tower; and on these occasions they entertained and instructed one another with critical remarks on ancient authors, and especially on the Scriptures †.

During his imprisonment he received marks of civility and friendship from several of the episcopal divines in England; among whom was Joseph Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich, and well known by his pious and ingenious writings ‡.

* In a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, Melville mentions this last circumstance with regret. (Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 210.)

† Casaubon has preserved, in his *Ephemerides*, a critical emendation of the common text of 1 Timothy iii. 15, 16, which Melville suggested to him at one of these interviews. He proposed to read the passage thus: "These things write I unto thee—that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God. The pillar and ground of the truth, and great without controversy, is the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh," &c. (Casauboniana, pp. 92, 292.) "Mira novitas!" exclaims Casaubon. But, with all deference to the learned critic, the proposed reading was not a novelty. It is to be found in the Basil editions of the Greek Testament, *annis* 1540 and 1545; and has been adopted by several modern critics of great authority.

‡ "Literas a D. Josepho Hallo christianæ amoris et humanitatis plenissimas accepi; pro quibus non potui non agere gratias. Ejus in Salamonem opella, nuper edita, bene placet." (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 99.)

By Sir William Wade, the Governor of the Tower, he appears to have been treated with every indulgence which was consistent with his safe custody *. Among his fellow-prisoners were Sir Walter Raleigh, and the favourite *Magi* of the Duke of Northumberland †. There were also in the Tower at this time three Scotchmen of the popish persuasion ; the noted John Hamilton, Paterson, a priest, and Campbell, a Capuchin friar, who were kept under an easy restraint, and sumptuously provided for ‡. Melville had several interviews with them ; and waited on the death-bed of Hamilton, whom he exhorted, though without success, to rest his hopes of final acceptance on the atonement and advocacy of Christ, instead of the merits and intercession of creatures§. In the year 1610, Sir William Seymour, afterwards Duke of Hertford, was sent to the Tower for clandestinely marrying the Lady Arabella, who was nearly allied to the royal family. On this occasion Melville composed the following couplet, expressive of the similarity of the cause of Seymour's imprisonment

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 318, 321, 323.

† Biographia Brit. art. *Harriot, Thomas*.

‡ Melvini Epist. p. 137. In the year 1608, James sent a letter to the Privy Council of Scotland, reprimanding them for overlooking "Mr. Johne Hamiltoun." (Letter from the Counsell to his Maiestie : Lord Haddington's Collect.) About the same time Mr. Alexander Campbell and Mr. Johne Young apologize to his Majesty "for the resetting of one Johne Cambell a Capuchin frier." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1. 12.) They were not apprehended until the year 1609.

§ Rob. Johnston, Hist. Rer. Brit. p. 460.

to his own, founded on an allusion to the lady's name, which in Latin signifies *a fair altar*.

*Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris, Arabella tibi causa est ; Araque sacra mihi *.*

These lines he sent to the noble prisoner on his entering the Tower, and the witty distich of " the poetical minister" was much talked of at court †.

In the month of November, 1610, upon the return of Lord Wotton, the English ambassador, from France, the Duke of Bouillon sent an application by him to King James, requesting him to release Melville from the Tower, and allow him to come to his university at Sedan. It is probable that Melville owed this interposition in his favour to his friend Aaron

* The following translation of the lines is given in the *Biographia Britannica* :

From the same cause *my* woe proceeds and *thine*,
Your ALTAR *lovely* is, and *sacred* mine.

For the imperfection of the translation, the apology of the learned compiler may be sustained, that it is " almost impossible to translate these lines into English without injuring either the sense or the spirit." But he has gone farther wrong in his commentary, in consequence of his being ignorant of the fact, that the poet was confined for verses written on the Royal Altar. " The wit (says he) consists in the allusion, grounded on the lady's name, signifying in Latin a fair Altar, and Melvin's being committed for the cause of God's altar, at least in his own opinion." (Biogr. Brit. art. *Arabella Stuart*.) This would have been but dull wit, however sound " his own opinion" had been.

† Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 201. Row's Hist. p. 173.

Capel, one of the ministers of the French church in London, who had a brother in the University of Sedan. As the Duke was one of the *grande*es of France, and at the head of the protestants in that kingdom, James was pleased at having an opportunity to gratify him by granting the request *. But when Melville had the prospect of immediately obtaining his liberty, a formidable opposition was made to it from an unexpected quarter. The French ambassador at London thought it proper to acquaint his court with the transaction which was going on between the Duke of Bouillon and James. The Queen Regent instantly wrote, that she did not judge it safe that a person of Melville's qualities should come into her kingdom, where there was already a sufficient number of turbulent and restless spirits; and therefore charged her ambassador to oppose the measure, by representing to James that it was not reasonable to send to France an individual whom he had found it necessary to lay under restraint at home on account of his seditious behaviour †. At an interview with his Majesty, the ambassador laid this representation before him. James professed himself greatly embarrassed in consequence of his promise to Bouillon. The request, he said, had been publicly presented by Lord Wotton; and, not suspecting that a Marshal of France, and one of the principal counsellors of her Majesty, had not made

* *Melvini Epistolæ*, p. 173.

† *De la Boderie, Ambassadeur*, tom. v. pp. 513—515.

her acquainted with the application, he had readily acceded to it, on condition that the prisoner should not be allowed either to preach or publish, but should confine himself to reading and teaching in Sedan. At the same time, he professed his desire to oblige the Queen in this and all other matters; and only requested, that, with the view of disengaging him from his promise, she should speak to the Duke in such a manner as to prevent him from insisting on his request. In the course of the conversation with the French ambassador, his Majesty discovered his strong antipathy to Melville; and gave a short narrative of his life, in which he appears to have been guided not so much by a regard to truth, as by a desire to increase the fears expressed by the French queen. The Duke of Bouillon, he said, would not be so urgent in his request, if he were acquainted with the fierce and contentious humour of the man. After he returned from Geneva, where he was educated, he had been placed in one of the universities of Scotland, which he kept in continual broils during the four years that he remained in it: on that account his Majesty was obliged to remove him to another university, into which he also carried the torch of discord: and, finally, being called up to London to answer for his disorderly conduct, he was no sooner there than he fell upon his Majesty and his principal counsellors, whom he treated so abusively, that it became necessary, in order to prevent something worse, to shut him up in the Tower, where he still remain-

ed *. The Queen Regent addressed a second despatch to her ambassador, instructing him to persevere in his opposition to Melville's journey †. The secret, however, was, that the French court was not so much afraid of the seditious spirit of the Scottish Professor, as offended at Bouillon for presenting such a request without its knowledge, and jealous of his intercourse with the court of London ‡. Accordingly, the Duke having made a satisfactory apology for the step which he had taken, the Queen Regent withdrew her opposition.

Melville had sent the earliest information of the change in his prospects to his nephew. "The Duke of Bouillon has applied to the King, by the ambassador Wotton and by letters, for liberty to me to go to France. His Majesty is said to have yielded. I am in a state of suspense as to the course which I ought to take. There is no room for me in Britain on account of pseudo-episcopacy—no hope of my being allowed to revisit my native country. Our bishops return home after being anointed with the waters of the Thames. Alas, liberty is fled! religion is banished!—I have nothing new to write to you, except my hesitation about my banishment. I reflect upon the active life which I spent in my native country during the space of thirty-six years, the idle life which I have been condemned to spend in prison, the reward which I

* De la Boderie, tom. v. pp. 530—533.

† Ibid. p. 541.

‡ Ibid. p. 517.

have received from men for my labours, the inconveniences of old age, and other things of a similar kind, taken in connexion with the disgraceful bondage of the church and the base perfidy of men. But in vain: I am still irresolute. Shall I desert my station? shall I fly from my native country, from my native church, from my very self? Or, shall I deliver myself up, like a bound quadruped, to the will and pleasure of men? No: sooner than do this, I am resolved, by the grace of God, to endure the greatest extremity. But until my fate is fixed, I cannot be free from anxiety. Be assured, however, that nothing earthly affects me so deeply as the treachery of men to God, and the defection of our church in this critical conjuncture. Yet our adversaries have not all the success which they could wish—but I dare not write all that I could tell you by word of mouth. Our affairs are in a bad state, but there is still some ground of hope. Take care of your health, and send me your advice, as quickly as possible, and in one word. Shall I go, or, shall I remain *?”

It is evident from this letter that he felt reluctant to go abroad. He was become attached to his native country by a long residence in it. Though he had no family of his own, he had formed attachments which were nearly as close and endearing as those which are strictly domestic. His health and spirits were still uncommonly good; but he had

* Melvini Epist. pp. 173—175.

arrived at that period of life when the mind loses its elastic spring and its power of accommodating itself to external circumstances; and he felt averse to enter upon a new scene of action in a country where the people and the manners had undergone a complete change since he had known them. There were, therefore, no sacrifices, those of conscience and honour excepted, which he was not prepared to make, in order to obtain permission to remain in Scotland.

James Melville knew that all hopes of this kind were vain, and therefore advised him to embrace the offer which was in his power. "Summon up your courage, and prepare to obey the call of providence. Perhaps this is 'a man of Macedonia'—a messenger from God to invite you to the help of the inhabitants of Burgundy and Lorrain. Like the apostle, 'let none of these things move you, neither count your life dear that you may finish your course with joy and the ministry which you have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.'

*Te si fata tuis paterentur ducere vitam
Auspiciis, et sponte tua componere curas,
Urbem Trojanam primum—————
Sed nunc Italiam—————*

Seeing you are bound like Jeremiah, you must go whither you are led, though not in obedience to the will of men, yet in cheerful submission to the will

of God, who will keep you in all his ways. So far as I can see, there is no choice left, but a hard necessity is imposed on you. I may add, that those who are joined with you in the same cause, and I in particular, would esteem it the greatest favour to have it in our power to accompany you. For what can I look for but continued distress of mind, whether here or at home? Take this then as my answer to your question, Either I must go abroad, or death will soon be the consequence. I entreat you to act the part of Joseph, and procure for me an invitation from the illustrious Duke, to serve in the church or schools of France. I know the king will readily accede to his request; but if I leave the country without the royal license, I will incur proscription and confiscation. Melissa is as desirous of being with you as I am, and is ready to accompany me wherever providence may direct my course. She lately sent you, as a mark of her regard, a small present, consisting of an embroidered cloak, a neckerchief, and some other articles, trimmed with her own hands. Have you received them?—I know not how it is, but my soul fails and melts within me, and the tears rush into my eyes at the thought, of which I cannot get rid, that I shall see your face no more. While I write, my sweet Melissa, my only earthly solace in my solitude and exile, overcome with womanly grief, wets my bosom with her tears, and desires me to bid you, in her name, a long farewell. And I—Would to God you had long ago

closed my eyes at Montrose. I can write no more. Eternal blessings rest upon you *."

While Melville remained in a state of suspense, he resolved to make an attempt to regain his liberty on terms less hard than banishment. He addressed a letter to Sir James Sempill, in which, after modestly stating his claims, "at least, to an honest retreat from warfare, with the hope of burial with his ancestors," he offered his services to Prince Henry, who was then in the seventeenth year of his age †. The Prince, whose character was in every respect the reverse of his father's, would have received him into his family with the utmost pleasure, if he had been left to his own choice. But there was no ground to hope that the King would permit such an instructor to be placed about the person of his son, of whose active spirit and popularity he was already become jealous. Melville wisely committed the affair wholly to the discretion of Sir James Sempill, Sir James Fullerton, and Thomas Murray ‡; on

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 176, 184.

† Original Letter to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees: MS. in Archiv. Eccl. Scot. vol. xxviii. num. 6.

‡ Thomas Murray was tutor and secretary to Prince Charles, and afterwards provost of Eton College. He was the son of — Murray of Woodend. (Douglas's Baronage, p. 286.) His Latin poems, which were published separately, are included in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. Various tributes were paid to him by the poets of the age. (Leochæi Epigrammata, pp. 38, 44, 87. Dumbairi Epigr. p. 114. Arct. Jonstoni Poem. p. 281. Middelb. 1642.) In the year 1615, an attempt was made by Archbishop Gladstones, to have him removed from the Prince, "as ill-affected to the estate of the kirk."

whom he placed a more entire dependence than on any other of his acquaintance about the court. In his letters he often expresses a grateful sense of the kindness which they had shown him during his imprisonment. Of Sempill in particular he writes in the following terms to his nephew : " Did my friend Sempill, the assertor of my liberty, visit you in passing ? If he did, as he promised he would, why have you not said a word about him ? All my friends owe much to him on my account. He takes a warm interest in my studies as well as in the welfare of my person ; and, what is more, I am persuaded that he takes a warm interest in the cause. The court does not contain a more religious man, one who unites in a greater degree modesty with genius, and a sound judgment with elegant accomplishments. In procuring for me a mitigation of my imprisonment, he has shown, both by words and deeds, a constancy truly worthy of a Christian. If you meet with him on his return (for he means to return with your hero) thank him on my account ; for he will not rest satisfied until he has effected my liberation completely *."

(Letters from Archbishop Spotswood to Mr. Murray of the Bedchamber, Jan. 30, and Feb. 6, 1615 : Wodrow's *Life of Spotswood*, pp. 51, 52.) His appointment to be Provost of Eton College, in the year 1621, was opposed, partly on suspicions of his puritanism. (*Cabala*, pp. 289, 290.) He died " anno æt. 59, A. D. 1623, April 9 ;" (*Le Neve*, *Mon. Ang.* vol. i. p. 86 ;) and left behind him five sons and two daughters. (Latter will, extracted from Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.)

* *Melvini Epistolæ*, p. 78. Three epigrams by Melville are prefixed to a work against Selden by Sir James Sempill, entitled, " *Sacri-*

In the month of February, 1611, Melville received a letter from the Duke of Bouillon, stating that he had procured his release from the Tower, and inviting him to Sedan *. On this occasion he felt great embarrassment as to pecuniary matters. The government was so illiberal as to make him no allowance for bearing his expenses. He had been obliged to support himself in the Tower, where every individual who performed the smallest service expected to be rewarded according to the rank of the prisoner. His finances were so much exhausted that he could not fit himself out for making an appearance in a foreign country suited to his station and connexions. And his nephew, on account of certain extraordinary expenses which he had lately incurred, felt himself unable to relieve him. The urgency of his necessities and the delicacy of his feelings, are well described in a letter written by him at this time to James Melville, relating to a collection which his friends in Scotland proposed to make for him. "Our friend of Ely (says he) writes to me that I owe much to our brother at Stirling; referring, I suppose, to the collection which has been so

ledge sacredly handled—Lond. 1619." 4to. Sir James was the author of "*Cassandra Scoticana to Cassander Anglicanus*;" (see above, p. 195;) and, in part at least, of a satirical poem against the church of Rome, called "*The Packman's Pater Noster*."—Robert Boyd of Trochrig, in mentioning Sempill's death, February 1625, extols his character and his friendship for Melville. (*Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 148.)

* Cald. vii. 466.

much talked of, and which, I am afraid, must be viewed in the light of an exaction rather than a voluntary offering, and a gift to men rather than God. I know that I am under great obligations to Patrick*, both on public and private grounds. But my nature will not suffer me, as the orator says, to enrich myself from the spoils of others, and especially of strangers on whom I have no claims. I acknowledge that it is not unreasonable that my necessities should be relieved by such of my brethren as are able and willing, considering that I am reduced to these straits not for any evil that I have done, but for the public cause of Christ which they profess in common with me. 'It is more blessed to give than to receive' is an apostolical saying, which it is easier to use and act upon when fortune flows than when it ebbs. As it is the mark of a haughty mind to spurn the benevolence of brethren, so, on the other hand, it does not suit my disposition to grasp at money which has been wheedled from a promiscuous multitude by fair and flattering speeches. Necessity, you will say, has no law. But what necessity can be so great as to warrant one to compromise the character of a good man, or to sacrifice one's reputation? To sound a trumpet in bestowing a favour betrays ostentation; and an ingenuous and modest person will not be fond of having a noise made at the receiving of a favour. It was always my desire to be concealed in the crowd, even when

* Patrick Symson, minister of Stirling.

the field of honour appeared to ripen before me. But I act a foolish part in reasoning so stoically about gifts of which nothing has yet reached me but the sound. I will not purchase hope; nor will I ever, on my own account, extort money by eucharistical letters. What I am requested to do is, to give thanks to Simpson and Gillespie, (both of them most deserving men) and to their flocks, with the view of stimulating them to the making of a collection. This, if not a preposterous, is certainly not a very honourable course. I could do many things for others which I would blush to do for myself. Advise me how to act, or rather take the management of the business into your own hands. You know how utterly unpractised I am in such affairs*." The collection was made and remitted to him; but it came so late as almost to prove, as he expresses it, *moutarde après diner*†.

His health had hitherto remained uncommonly good; but it began at last to suffer from confinement, and he was seized with a fever. On the certificate of the physicians he was permitted to leave the Tower, and to enjoy the free air for a few days within ten miles of London. But he was prohibited from coming near the court of the King, Queen, or Prince‡. During this interval he was visited by the Earl of Cassilis, who insisted on making another attempt to procure liberty for him to return

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 167—170.

† Ibid. pp. 176, 185.

‡ Cald. vii. p. 466.

to his native country. But although his lordship exerted all his influence, the terms dictated by the court were so hard that Melville rejected them at once *. Some of the Scottish bishops who happened to be in London joined in the Earl's application; and Spotswood went so far as to request, publicly on his knees, that Melville might be sent to the University of Glasgow. His Majesty humoured the farce, by turning to his courtiers, and extolling the Christian spirit which the archbishop displayed in interceding for the capital enemy of his order †.

Having recovered his health, Melville sailed for France, after having been a prisoner in the Tower for the space of four years. Before going aboard the vessel he wrote the following hasty lines to his affectionate nephew :

“ My dear son, my dear James, farewell, farewell in the Lord, with your sweet Melissa. I must now go to other climes. Such is the pleasure of my divine and heavenly Father ; and I look upon it as a fruit of his paternal love towards me. Why should I not, when he has recovered me from a sudden and heavy distemper, and animates me to the journey by so many tokens of his favour ? Now at length I feel the truth of the presage which I have frequently pronounced, That it behoved me to confess Christ on a larger theatre ; which, so far as it may

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 295.

† Row's Hist. pp. 348, 349. We can be at no loss in judging of Spotswood's sincerity on this occasion, after reading what he has said of Melville's banishment, in his History, pp. 499, 500.

yet be unfulfilled, shall soon, I augur, receive a complete verification. In the mean time I retain you in my heart, nor shall any thing in this life be dearer to me, after God, than you. The excellent Capel has in the most friendly manner recommended you by letter to the Duke of Bouillon, but has as yet received no answer. To-day I set out on my journey under the auspices of Heaven: May God in his mercy give it a prosperous issue. Join with me in supplicating that it may turn out to his glory and the profit of his church. Although I have no uneasiness about my library, yet I must request you to charge those who are entrusted with its keeping to be careful of it, both for my sake, and for the sake of the church, to which I have dedicated myself and all my property. Who knows but we may yet meet again to give thanks publicly to God for all his benefits to us? Why should we not cherish the hope of better days; seeing the fraud and pride of our enemies have brought us to a condition which appears to prognosticate the ruin of the lately-reared fabric? Our three pretended bishops affirm that they urged, and on their knees supplicated his Majesty to restore me to my native country; but you know the disposition of the men, and what was the drift of their request. In the mean time write to me frequently by Capel concerning every thing, and especially what is doing respecting the ecclesiastical history. I am much grieved at the imprisonment of my young friend Balfour, your sister's son; if I can procure his liberty, by the assistance of foreign-

ers, I shall look upon it as a favour conferred on myself. The vessel is under weigh, and I am called aboard. My salutations to all friends. The grace of God be with you always. From the Tower of London—just embarking—on the day after the funeral of your Mæcenas, the 19th of April, 1611.

Your's as his own, in the Lord,

ANDREW MELVILLE *."

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 188—190.

CHAPTER X.

1611—1622.

MELVILLE's Reception in France—Scotchmen in the Protestant Universities there—University of Sedan—Melville's Employment in it—His Correspondence with his Nephew—Death of Robert Wilkie and John Jonston—Melville leaves Sedan for a short time—Intelligence from Scotland—Constancy of Forbes and other banished Ministers—Death of James Melville—Scottish Students at Sedan—Melville opposes the Arminian Sentiments of Tilenus—His Opinion of the Articles of Perth Assembly—Changes on University of St. Andrews—Defence of the Scottish Church against Tilenus—Melville's Health declines—His Death—Character and Writings.

ON landing in France, Melville stopped for a short time at Rouen. At Paris he was affectionately received by one of his scholars, George Sibbald of Rankeillor-over and Giblistoun, who was then prosecuting his studies in the French capital, and who, after taking the degree of doctor in medicine at Padua, spent his time and fortune in promoting li-

terature and science in his native country *. He was also hospitably entertained by Du Moulin, the well-known protestant minister of Paris, who was greatly pleased with the learning which he displayed in conversation. The Frenchman had heard that he was *un peu colère*, and therefore was afraid to enter with him on a controversy which was then keenly agitated among the Protestants of France. These fears were however groundless ; for Melville's sentiments on that subject were very moderate. After remaining a few days in Paris, he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university †.

The protestants of France had at this time six universities ; Montauban, Saumur, Nismes, Montpellier, Die, and Sedan ‡. Besides these, they had

* Sibbald expresses his eagerness to see Melville, after his long imprisonment, in the beautiful words of Horace, *Ut mater juvenem*, &c. (Letter to Boyd of Trochrig, May 14, 1611 : Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 53.) Dr. George Sibbald is mentioned in *Inquis. Retornat. Spec. Fife*, num. 118. *Comp. num.* 123. *Vita Arct. Johnstoni* : *Poet. Scot. Musæ Sacræ*, tom. i. pp. xxx. xlix. lxiv. *Dumbari Epigram.* p. 183. There are a number of his MSS. in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh. His only printed work, as far as I know, besides his academical theses, is "*Regulæ bene et salubriter vivendi—Edinb. 1701*;" published by his nephew, Sir Robert Sibbald. He married Anna de Maliverne, a French lady, and the relict of Robert Boyd of Trochrig. (*General Register of Deeds*, vol. DLV. f. 39, b ; and vol. DLXXXI. 12th April, 1653.)

† Letter from Du Moulin to Boyd of Trochrig, May 29, 1611 : Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 56.

‡ Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. 330, 382, 387, 388. This is exclusive of those of Pau, Orthes and Lescar (the two last were united) in the kingdom of Navarre and Bearn.

fifteen colleges, erected in other parts of the kingdom, in which languages, philosophy, and belles lettres were taught *. The number of Scotchmen who taught in these seminaries was great. They were to be found in all the universities and colleges ; in several of them they held the honorary situation of Principal ; and in others they amounted to a third part of the Professors. Most of them had been educated under Melville at St. Andrews †.

The territory of Sedan and Raucourt had long formed a separate principality, governed by its own laws, under the Dukes of Bouillon, who were petty sovereigns, but subject to the crown of France. About the year 1578, a university was erected in the town of Sedan by Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon ‡. By marrying his only child, Henry de la Tour, Viscount of Turenne, had succeeded to his titles and domains §. He proved a great patron to the university, which was supported partly by his munificence, and partly by a sum of money annually allotted to it from the funds of the National Synod. It had professorships of Theology, Hebrew, Greek,

* Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. pp. 275, 380, 388.

† It was my intention to subjoin, in the notes, an account of such Scotchmen as were teachers in the protestant academies of France ; but I find that there is not room for it.

‡ Emanuel Tremellius was professor of Hebrew at Sedan when he died in 1580. (Melch. Adami Vitæ Exter. Theol. p. 143. Teissier, Eloges, iii. 179.)

§ Marsollier, Histoire de Henry de la Tour, Duc de Bouillon, pp. 139, 167, 173. Vie de Mornay du Plessis, pp. 153, 219. Laval, Hist. of the Reform. in France, vi. 879.

Law, Philosophy, and Humanity *. Walter Donaldson, a native of Aberdeen, and known as the author of several learned works, was Principal, and Professor of Natural and Moral Philosophy, during all the time that Melville was in the University †. Another of his countrymen, John Smith, was also a Professor of Philosophy ‡. James Capellus, one of the ministers of Sedan, taught the Hebrew class. Though not so acute and bold a critic as his brother Lewis, he was possessed of extensive learning, and lived on terms of great intimacy with Melville §. The Professor of Divinity was Daniel

* Quick, i. 330, 342. Bayle, Dict. art. *Perrot, Nicole*. Bayle had been a professor at Sedan. Henry IV. allotted 45,000 crowns annually to the National Synod; and Lewis XIII. added 45,000 livres. In 1609, the Synod granted to the University of Sedan £1500, of which £700 was to be given to the Professor of Divinity. The annual sum given to it from 1612 to 1620 was £4000. (Aymons, *Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reform. de France*, tom. i. p. 378.)

† Donaldsoni *Synopsis Œconomica*, Præfat. Paris. 1620. Two other works of his are mentioned in Bayle, Dict. art. *Donaldson, Gualter*. He is called "Poeta Laureatus," (Leochæi Epigram. p. 21,) that is, one who had taken a degree in grammar and rhetoric. "Walterus Donaldson armiger, utriusque juris doctor apud Rupellam in Gallia, natus in abredonia—fuit filius legitimus Alexandri Donaldson armigeri (ex nobilissima et antiquissima familia donaldorum in regno nostro Scotiæ oriund.) et Elizabethæ Lamb quæ fuit filia legitima Davidis Lamb, Baronis de Dunkenny." (*Literæ Prosapiæ Alex^{ri} Donaldson Medicinæ Doctoris*, dat. Edin. Nov. 15, 1642: MS. in *Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W.* 6. 26. p. 21. Conf. A. 3. 19. num. 116.)

‡ Steph. Morinus, *Vita Sam. Bocharti*, p. 2; apud Bocharti *Opera*, tom. i.

§ Colomesii *Gallia Orientalis*, pp. 157, 223. Colomesius says: "Ludovicus Capellus, Jacobi *unicus* frater." But in a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, Ludovicus calls Aaron Capel in London his brother. (Wod-

Tilenus, a native of Silesia, who, having come to France in his youth, recommended himself to the chief persons among the Protestants by his conduct as tutor to the Lord of Laval, and as a writer in defence of the reformed cause *. The profession of Divinity, which Tilenus had hitherto sustained alone, was now divided between him and Melville. The former taught the system, while the latter prelected on the Scriptures. Each delivered three lectures in the week, and they presided alternately in the theological disputations †.

In the beginning of the year 1612, Melville was gratified by receiving an affectionate letter from his nephew. "Ah, my dear father! Are you well? where are you? what are you doing? do you still remember me? I have almost forgotten you for some months, so much has my attention been occupied with my petition to the King. I have received for answer, that I can have no hopes but in the way of yielding an absolute submission to the decrees of the late assembly at Glasgow: so that I despair of

row's *Life of Boyd*, p. 80.) There are two poems by Melville prefixed to a work of James Capellus, entitled "*Historia Sacra et Exotica—Sedani 1613.*" Capellus introduces Melville's opinion on a question which he discusses in the course of that work, calling him "*vir doctissimus et collega charissimus.*" (*Hist. Sacr.* p. 236. *Wolfii Curæ Crit. in Nov. Test.* tom. iii. p. 657.)

* *Mémoires de Mornay du Plessis*, tom. ii. pp. 455, 456. *Quick's Synod.* vol. i. p. 187. *Epistres Françaises à Mons. de la Scala*, p. 420.

† Mons. de Laune to Trochrig; Sedan, Nov. 20, 1611: *Wodrow's Life of Boyd*, p. 58.

returning to my native country." Before he had an opportunity of answering this letter, Melville received two letters from the same quarter, expressing great distress at not having heard from him, and communicating ample intelligence respecting the state of matters in Scotland. The bishops were triumphing in the exercise of their newly-acquired pre-eminence, and daily received fresh proofs of the royal favour. A remark of Chancellor Seaton was much talked of: "If our bishops get the kingdom of heaven they must be happy men; for they already reign on earth." Not satisfied with ruling the church-courts, they claimed an extensive civil authority within their dioceses. The burghs were deprived of their privileges, and forced to receive such magistrates as their episcopal superiors, in concert with the court, were pleased to nominate *. No opposition

* In the year 1609, Archbishop Spotswood put a stop to the election of the magistrates of Glasgow; and wrote to the King in the following terms: "In all humbleness I present my opinion to your most sacred Majesty that it may be your Highness gracious pleasure to command them of new to elect the Baillies that were nominate by your Majesty in your first letter, and to signify that it is your Highness mind that they have no Provost at this time." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 65.) Two years after he treated the town of Ayr in the same manner. (Letter, Spotswood to Beltrees, Oct. 12, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Spotswood, p. 36.) Archbishop Gladstones, in a letter to the King, June 9, 1611, says: "It was your pleasure and direction,—that I should be possessed with the like privileges in the electione of the magistrats there (in St. Andrews,) as my lord of Glasgow is endued with in that his city.—Sir, whereas they are troublesome, I will be answerable to your Majesty and Counsell for them, after that I be possessed of my right." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 72.)

was at this time made to them. The nation had not yet recovered from the terror inspired by the threatening proclamations of the King, and the despotical powers of the High Commission. "How shall I mention the state of our church!" says James Melville. "It overwhelms me with grief, shame, and confusion. All those whose duty it is to care for it have laid aside their concern. The pulpits are silent. A deep sleep has fallen down upon our prophets. The hands of all are bound. Issachar crouches, like an ass under his two burdens. The pangs of death are come upon me: fear and trembling have seized me: horror covers me. O that I had the wings of a dove, that I might fly, that I might wander far away, and lodge in the desert!"

James Melville informed his uncle of the decease of two of his most intimate acquaintance in the University of St. Andrews. "The father of St. Leonard's College, our steady friend Wilkie, has happily ended his days. He has left all his property to the college, and nominated our acquaintance Bruce for his successor, to whom he kindly commended the care of my John. I hope your muse will not be forgetful of that good man and sincere friend. How much more happy is he than I! But I trust I shall not be long in following him. Indeed, unless you had survived to animate me, and my Melissa had watched over my health, my poor soul, pierced with wounds, would ere now have quitted its prison. But I endure by the strength of God,

and comfort myself with your words, 'Who knows but we may yet meet again?' Ah! when will that day arrive*!"—"Your colleague, John Jonston (says he, in his letter of the 25th November) closed his life last month. He sent for the members of the university and presbytery, before whom he made a confession of his faith, and professed his sincere attachment to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in which he desired to die. He did not conceal his dislike of the lately-erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud, and whole conduct of the bishops. He pronounced a grave and ample eulogium on your instructions, admonitions, and example; craving pardon of God and you for having offended you in any instance, and for not having borne more meekly with your wholesome and friendly anger. As a memorial, he has left you a gilt velvet cap, a gold coin, and one of his best books †. His death would have been a most mournful event to the church, university, and all good men, had it not been that he has for several years laboured under an incurable disease, and that the ruin of the church has swallowed up all lesser sorrows, and exhausted our tears ‡."

* This letter is dated July 15, 1611. (Melvini Epist. pp. 193—196.)

† "Item, I leave in taikin of my sinceir love and affectioun to Mr. Andro Melvill ane fyne new Duche cap of fyne blak velvet, lynit wt fyne martrik skinnnes." (Testament of John Jonston.) He died Oct. 20, 1611.

‡ Melvini Epist. pp. 196, 281. There are five of Jonston's letters printed in *Camdeni Epist.* pp. 41, 75, 95, 123, 127; and a number of

The answers which Melville returned to these letters were calculated to cheer the spirits of his tender-hearted nephew. "Your letter, my dear James, gave me as much pleasure as it is possible for one to receive in these gloomy and evil days. We must not forget the apostolical injunction, 'Rejoice always: rejoice in hope.' *Non si male nunc, et olim erit.* Providence is often pleased to grant prosperity and long impunity to those whom it intends to punish for their crimes, in order that they may feel more severely from the reverse.

Μεγάλα δίδωσι ευτυχίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα

Τας συμφορας λαβωσι επιφανέστερας.

No oracular response pronounced from the tripod of Apollo was ever truer than this couplet of Pindar *. It is easy for a wicked man to throw a commonwealth into disorder: God only can restore it. Empires which have been procured by

his poems are to be found in Cambden's *Britannia*. In Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd* (pp. 43, 47, 53,) are several of his letters, and particularly one containing an account of certain of his MSS. which he sent to be printed at Saumur. He married Catherine Melville, of the house of Carnbee. (Appendix to Lamont's *Diary*, p. 285.) In his *Consolatio Christiana* (pp. 101-2) are epitaphs which he wrote on her and two of their children. An attempt was made to obtain him for second minister of Haddington. (Record of Presb. of Haddington, Oct. 24, 1599; June 11, and 18, and July 2, 1600.)

* Aristotle quotes the lines as from a poet unknown. (Rhetoric. lib. ii. c. 24. ed. Goulstoni.) They are included in the *Fragmenta* of Euripides. (Eurip. a Beck, tom. ii. p. 496.)

fraud cannot be stable or permanent. Pride and cruelty will meet with a severe, though it may be a late, retribution; and, according to the Hebrew proverb, 'when the tale of bricks is doubled, Moses comes.' The result of past events is oracular of the future. 'In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.' Why then exert our ingenuity and labour in adding to our vexation? Away with fearful apprehensions!" The following quotation is a specimen of the familiar and classic pleasantry which he was accustomed to use with his friends. "What is the *profound Dreamer* * (so I was accustomed to call him when we travelled together in 1584)—what is our Corydon of Haddington about? I know he cannot be idle: has he not brought forth or perfected any thing yet, after so many decades of years? *Tempus Atla veniet tua quo spoliabitur arbor*. Let me know if our old friend Wallace has at last become the father of books and bairns? Menalcas of Cupar on the Eden † is, I hear, constant; and I hope he will prove vigilant in discharging all the duties of a pastor, and not mutable in his friendships, as too many discover themselves to be in these cloudy days. Salute him in my name; as also Damœtas of Elie ‡, and our friend Dykes, with such others as you know to 'hold the beginning of their confidence and the

* "*Baluchon songecreux*." The person referred to is James Carmichael, minister of Haddington.

† William Scot, minister of Cupar in Fife.

‡ John Carmichael, minister of Elie.

rejoicing of their hope firm to the end.' And, pray, do not forget my venerable old cousin, who must now, I fear, be on the brink of the grave, and who has long been afflicted with gout, gravel, and colic. When I came to this country I was the means of releasing his son from prison; and I still look for his letter of thanks. It will give me the greatest pleasure, in this retirement of mine, to hear from him or any of his friends, and to be informed of every thing about them. I must not forget the laird of Dysart, the present chief of our family; nor the baron of Rossie, our kinsman. We old men daily grow children again, and are ever and anon turning our eyes and thoughts back on our cradles. We praise the past days because we can take little pleasure in the present. Suffer me then to doat; for I am now become pleased with old age, although 'I have lived so long as to see some things which I could wish never to have seen.' I try daily to learn something new, and thus to prevent my old age from becoming listless and inert. I am always doing, or at least attempting to do, something in those studies to which I devoted myself in the younger part of my life. Accept this long epistle from a talkative old man. *Loqui senibus res est gratissima*, says your favourite Palingenius, the very mention of whose name gives me new life; for the *regeneration* * forms almost the sole topic of my meditations, and in this do I exercise myself that I may have

* *Palingenesia*.

my conversation in heaven.”—“Your account of the happy death of my colleague Jonston filled me with both grief and joy. He was a man of real piety, attached to the purity of religion, and of a most courteous disposition. The university has lost a teacher, the church a member, and I a friend, to whom there are few equal.”—“I cannot refrain from bewailing the death of my friend Myrrha, and the loss which I, in common with all good men, have sustained by the removal of that most pious woman *. How dearly I loved her you know, and our friend Godscroft knows better than any other man. Remember me kindly to him, and say that his letter and poems have at last reached me. Often has the decease of that choice woman drawn tears from my eyes since I received the afflicting tidings. And at this moment my grief breaks out afresh—but I restrain myself †.”

One of the first things which he did after his settlement at Sedan was to look out for an eligible situation for his nephew. But, however desirous of his company, he was obliged to discourage him from coming to the continent. “I know (says he) you

* It appears from a letter of James Melville, that the lady here referred to was a sister of John Murray, minister of Leith. “*Joannes Murraus, triumphantis tuæ Myrrhæ frater, et Joannes Carus Fadonsidius, Johnstoni tui nunc in cælo ostantis, gener : qui viri !*” (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 303.) John Murray had two sisters married, the one to Sir Robert Douglas of Spot, and the other to Sir William Moncrieff of that Ilk. (Douglas’s Baronage, pp. 45, 102.)

† Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 290—295.

will do nothing rashly in your own affair. At present there is no room for you here either in the church or academy. And I am afraid that the variableness and humidity of the climate in the Low Countries would be injurious to your health. Will Mar do nothing for you or for the public cause? Will Lennox do nothing? Nor the other noblemen who are in favour with his Majesty? What crime have you committed? What has the Monarch now to dread? Does not the Primate sit in triumph,—*traxitque sub astra furorem*? What is there then to hinder you, and me also, (now approaching my seventieth year, and consequently *emeritus*,) from breathing our native air, and, as a reward of our toils, being received into the Prytaneum, to spend the remainder of our lives, without seeking to share the honours and affluence which we do not envy the pretended bishops? We have not been a dishonour to the kingdom, and we are allied to the royal family. But let envy do its worst, no prison, no exile shall prevent us from confidently expecting the kingdom of heaven *.”

When Melville first went to Sedan, his friends in France were apprehensive that he would not find his situation quite comfortable †. He had every reason to be satisfied with the polite and munificent behaviour of the Duke of Bouillon ‡. But the number of students in the university was small.

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 296.

† Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 56.

‡ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 292.

His colleague Tilenus was a man of talents, but haughty and morose. He was a keen stickler for the peculiar tenet of Piscator, and some other opinions which were generally disliked by the French ministers. Melville did not enter into these disputes, and treated all the students, whatever were their sentiments respecting them, with equal civility and attention. But Tilenus could not conceal his antipathy to such young men as thought differently from himself, or who came from academies in which his opinions were rejected ; and in consequence of this many of them left Sedan and went to Saumur *. In these circumstances, Melville was induced to listen to the proposals of Monsieur de Barsack, Treasurer of the Parliament of Dauphiny, who wished him to superintend the education of his three sons. An annual salary of five hundred crowns was promised him, and he was to be allowed either to reside with the young men at Grenoble, or to take them along with him to Die, provided he obtained a professorship in the university which was established in that town. He went to Grenoble, in the month of November, 1612, to make a trial of the situation ; but, not finding it agreeable, he returned within a short time to Sedan †.

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 293. Letter from Mons. de Laune, a student at Sedan : in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, pp. 57, 58. In the year 1612 the students of Sedan did not amount to a third of those of Saumur, who, in the year 1606, were upwards of 400. (Life of Boyd, pp. 28, 38.)

† Letter from G. Sibbald ; in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 59.

The intelligence which he received on returning from Grenoble was not of a cheering description. A letter from his old colleague Welwood, who was then at London, conveyed to him the melancholy tidings of the death of Prince Henry, by which the hopes of all good men in Britain and on the continent were blasted *. Letters from his nephew at Berwick and from Alexander Hume at Prestonpans informed him, that the Parliament of Scotland had, in compliance with a royal injunction, conferred on the bishops spiritual powers more extensive than those which they had presumed to ask from the corrupt and servile assembly at Glasgow. "The bishops (says Hume) fret because they have failed in procuring for his Majesty as large a subsidy as they had promised him. Their employment now is not to preach Christ but the King. On the Sabbath before the meeting of Parliament the bishops of Galloway and Brechin told the people, that the King had a right not only to their property but also to their lives, and that they should grudge no sacrifice for one who was the defender of their faith, a confessor and a semi-martyr. Brechin farther exhorted the women to retrench their superfluous expenses in dress, and the men to avoid excess in the use of wine, that they might have it in their power to give the more to the King. Such is the doctrine

* On the 18th of February, 1613, a funeral oration on Prince Henry, by Principal Donaldson, was pronounced in the hall of the College of Sedan, before a great assembly. (*Lacrymæ Tvmulo nvnquam satis Lavdati Herois Henrici Friderici Stvarti—a Gvaltero Donaldsono Scoto-Britanno—Sedani, 1613. 8vo.*)

of our episcopal church. We are to abstain from vice not as vice, but in order to fill the royal coffers * !"

The reader may wish to learn something concerning Melville's companions in exile—the six ministers who were banished for holding the assembly at Aberdeen. Strachan sickened and died at Middleburg, soon after they landed on the continent †. Welsh, after remaining for some time at Bourdeaux, became minister of Jonsack, in the province of Angoumois; Duncan was received into the College of Rochelle; Sharp was made professor of divinity in the University of Die, in Dauphiné ‡. Forbes and Dury settled in Holland: the former was preacher to the English merchants at Middleburg, from which he removed to Delft; the latter obtained a Scotch congregation in Leyden §. Melville kept up a close correspondence with the two last; and, in the course of the year 1612, was gratified with a visit from Forbes, who spent several weeks at Sedan, along with his brother Arthur, an officer in the Swedish service ||.

* Melvini Epist. pp. 312, 317—320. Comp. Lord Hailes's Memor. of Britain, vol. i. pp. 40—48.

† Cald. vii. 78.

‡ Melvini Epist. p. 161. Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, pp. 28, 160, 173.

§ Melvini Epist. pp. 286, 329. Forbesii Comment. in Apoc. Pref. Interp.

|| Melvini Epist. p. 306. Sir Arthur Forbes of Castle Forbes in Ireland, the fourth son of William Forbes of Corse, was the ancestor of Earl Grannard. (Garden, Vita prefix. Oper. Joannis Forbesii. Lumsden's Genealogie of the Family of Forbes, pp. 21—23.)

In the course of the year 1613, the report reached Melville that his nephew and Bruce had made their peace with the King, and submitted to the bishops. Strong as his confidence in the integrity and firmness of both of these individuals was, he could not help feeling uneasy at this intelligence. "If Bruce and you are to be restored, (says he in a letter to James Melville,) what is to be done with me? What is to be done with my brethren, who, though innocent, suffered two years imprisonment, and have lived six years in this country as exiles? I know not what persecution is, if this is not.—Give my salutations to Bruce, and tell him that I would rather hear of his base servitude than see it*." His apprehensions were removed by letters from his nephew. Some occasion had been given for the report which he had heard. The petitions which the congregations and friends of the banished ministers had from time to time presented in their behalf, were now supported by the Chancellor and several of the nobility, who were disgusted with the pride of the upstart prelates, and desirous of imposing a check on their ambition. The bishops found it necessary to join in these petitions, and hoped to turn the measure to their own account, by procuring at least a partial approbation of their authority from some of those who had been its greatest opponents. Proposals were, accordingly, made to all of them, with the exception of Melville. Powerful considerations

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 308, 309.

were not wanting to induce them to comply, at the expense of making some sacrifice of principle. Several of them had lost their health abroad ; they were all advanced in life ; they had families ; and felt passionately attached to their native country. The commutation of capital punishment into exile is regarded as an act of clemency ; and if obliged to choose banishment or death, there is probably none who would not prefer the former. But, on the other hand, many who would willingly have laid their necks on the block rather than comply with what they deemed sinful, have had their resolution subdued by the mitigated but slow and exhausting pains of imprisonment or exile.

In the present instance, however, all the ministers rejected the terms offered them. The sentiments by which they were actuated in coming to this resolution, are forcibly expressed by Forbes in a letter to James Melville. " I always expected (says he) some proposal of this kind, and indeed I wonder that the bishops have deferred making it so long after the establishment of their tyranny. The only way of accounting for the delay is, by supposing that, like all who are conscious of being embarked in a bad course, they can never think themselves sufficiently secured against danger. How wretched the condition of these men, who, harassed by continual fear and anxiety, can neither do well without us, nor yet enjoy our company with safety ! What wise man would court these unsatisfactory and precarious honours, which, instead of giving peace

to the possessor, torment him with incessant apprehensions! Shall we then confirm what they feel to be so vain, by a single word, or the slightest mark of our approbation? God forbid that a cause which is destitute of intrinsic strength, and the innate excellence of virtue, should receive from us a prop to its weakness, or a covering to its turpitude! Suffer the self-convicted rogues to walk on their own feet, and we shall soon see them fall by their own act. Let us not fear their wiles, but turn our eyes to Him who, sitting above, governs all things, and overrules them to the good of those who love him. He that shall come will come without delay, and will cleanse his floor, and consume the chaff and rubbish with the fire of his wrath. I have been grieved, but not staggered at the weakness of A. D. * who has 'suffered so many things in vain.' He will not add to the strength of those to whom he has gone over, nor will he weaken us whom he has deserted. The crown which he has taken from his own head he has placed on ours. I am not moved by the foolish judgment of vain courtiers, nor by the empty triumphs of the bishops: such winds cannot shake the foundation

* This probably refers to Andrew Duncan, who had been lately allowed to return from banishment in consequence of his making some acknowledgments to the King respecting the Assembly held at Aberdeen. (Cald. vii. 500—503.) He was afterwards prosecuted before the High Commission, and imprisoned for nonconformity to the Articles of Perth. (Wodrow's Life of Andrew Duncan, pp. 4—11. Printed Cald. pp. 730, 764.)

on which we rest. If they appear for a time to be victorious, they shall feel at last that those who vanquish in a bad cause, vanquish to their ruin. At the same time we ought not rashly to condemn the peace and liberty offered us in the name of the prince. But if, under the external mask of liberty, they seek to draw us into a slavery worse not only than imprisonment and exile, but than the loss of life itself, we are not to purchase the liberty of our bodies by the enthralling of our souls. I had rather remain the captive of a legitimate sovereign than become the servant of illegitimate lords. I esteem it more honourable to carry the chains of a lawful king than to wear the insignia of usurping prelates. In the former case I am a witness with Christ in the hope of his glory: in the latter, perjured and an associate with wicked men, I would be found attempting to rebuild the city which had been thrown down and laid under a curse, would share of her plagues, and be involved in her ruin. Pardon my boldness. It would have become a son to be more modest in writing to a father. But grief and indignation at the present deplorable state of affairs, and at the hard condition of good men who cannot obtain corporal liberty without submitting to spiritual bondage, have unconsciously drawn these reflections from my pen *."

Melville must have been gratified with the spirit which breathed in this letter. He could not despair

* Melvini Epist. pp. 326—329.

of the liberties of his country as long as they had such friends as Forbes. Under the mortifications which he felt at the ingratitude of the public, and the defection of the greater part of those who had received their education under him, he could not say that he "spent his strength for nought and in vain," when he had been the means of training up a few individuals of such rare virtue and constancy. The next letter which he wrote to his nephew, shews how much the late intelligence from Scotland had cheered him. "I cannot but hope for every thing good from Bruce. The court-rumours are vain and calumnious, especially with respect to heroes like him, adorned with every virtue. I am anxious to hear good accounts of Patrick Simson, the faithful bishop of Stirling, and a few others of the same stamp with him. Godscroft has written to me once and again, ardently, vehemently. I love the sincere zeal and undaunted spirit of that excellent man and most upright friend. Would to God that the equestrian, not to say the ecclesiastical, order could boast of many Godscrofts *! Our friend Welwood has also written to me; but at present it is not in my power, nor do I reckon it prudent to reply to them according to their desire. You know

* This refers to the letters which David Hume of Godscroft had written to bishops Law and Cowper in defence of Presbytery. Wodrow has collected a number of them in his *Life of Hume*, pp. 18—40, and in his *Appendix to the Life of Cowper*. "I wish they were printed, (says James Melville,) one would scarcely desire to see any thing better on the subject." (*Melvini Epist.* p. 194.)

my disposition long ago. I am unwilling, for the mere purpose of making a shew of good-will, to gratify my friends in such a way as may involve them in trouble, even although they request it of me. The Lord, on whom, and not on the pleasure or wishes of men, I depend wholly, has his own times. I keep all my friends in my eye: I carry them in my bosom: I commend them to the God of mercy in my daily prayers. What comes to my hand I do: I fill up my station to the best of my ability: my conversation is in heaven: I neither importune nor deprecate the day of my death: I maintain my post: I aspire after things divine: about those which are human I give myself little trouble. In fine, I live to God and the church: I do not sink under adversity: I reserve myself for better days. My mind is prepared by the grace of God, and strong in the Lord, for whose sake I am not afraid to meet death in that new and living way which he hath consecrated, and which leads to heaven alike from every quarter of the globe *."

A letter from Sir James Fullerton, which he received in the month of April, 1614, gave a shock to his feelings which it required all his fortitude to bear. His dearest friend, and most affectionate and dutiful nephew, James Melville, was no more. His health had for some time been in a state of decline, which was accelerated by grief at the issue of public

* Melvini Epist. p. 325.

affairs in Scotland, which his extreme sensibility disposed him to brood over with too intense and exclusive an interest. In consequence of the importunity of his friends and an apparently earnest invitation from archbishop Gladstones, he set out for Edinburgh, in the beginning of the year 1614, to arrange matters for his return to Kilrinny, or, if this was found impracticable, to resign his charge and make permanent provision for that parish. But he had not gone far when he was taken so ill as to be unable to proceed on the journey, and with difficulty returned to Berwick. The medicines prescribed by the physicians failed in arresting the progress of the distemper, which soon exhibited alarming symptoms. He received the intimation of his danger with the most perfect composure, and told his friends that he was not only resigned to the will of God, but satisfied that he could not die at a more proper season. On Wednesday the 19th of January, he "set his house in order;" and all his children being present, except his son Andrew, (who was prosecuting his theological studies at Sedan,) he gave them his dying charge and parental blessing. His friend Joshua Dury, minister of St. Andrews, and Patrick Hume of Ayton, a gentleman who had shown him great kindness during his residence at Berwick, waited by his bed-side. The greater part of his time was spent in prayer. When he mentioned the Church of Scotland, he prayed for repentance and forgiveness to those who had caused a schism in it by overturning its reformed discipline; and, addressing those around him, he said:

"In my life I ever detested and resisted the hierarchy, as a thing unlawful and antichristian, for which I am an exile, and I take you all to witness that I die in the same judgment." He made particular mention of his uncle at Sedan; gave him a high commendation for learning, but still more for courage and constancy in the cause of Christ; and prayed that God would continue and increase the gifts bestowed on him. In the midst of the acute pain which he endured during that night and the succeeding morning, he expressed his resignation and confidence chiefly in the language of Scripture, and often repeated favourite sentences from the Psalms in Hebrew. Being reminded by some of his attendants of the Christian assurance which the apostle Paul had expressed in the prospect of his death, he replied: "Every one is not a Paul; yet I have a desire to depart and be with Christ, and I am assured that I shall enter into glory."—"Do you not wish to be restored to health?" said one of the attendants. "No; not for twenty worlds." Perceiving nature to be nearly exhausted, his friends requested him to give them a token that he departed in peace; upon which he repeated the last words of the martyr Stephen, and breathed gently away*.

He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighth year of his banishment. From the account given of him, and the extracts produced from

* Cald. MS. vii. 505—513.

his letters, in the preceding part of this work, the reader will be able to form a correct idea of his character. The presbyterian ministers of that age were in general characterized by piety, assiduity in the discharge of parochial duties, disinterestedness, public spirit, and the love of freedom. In James Melville these qualities were combined with the amiable dispositions of the man, and the courteous manners of the gentleman. Though of a mild temper, and not easily provoked, he possessed great sensibility ; could vindicate himself with spirit when unjustly attacked ; and testified, on all occasions, an honest indignation at whatever was base and unprincipled, especially in the conduct of men of his own profession. He felt a high veneration for the talents and character of his uncle ; but he was a confidential friend and able coadjutor, not a humble dependent or sycophantish admirer ; and his conduct during the last years of his life, when he was thrown on the resources of his own mind, served to display the soundness of his judgment, and to unfold the energy of his character *. “ He was one of the wisest directors of church-affairs in his time,” says Calderwood. “ For that cause he was ever employed by the General Assemblies and other public meetings ; and acted his part so gravely, so wisely, and so

* When some urged that James Melville might be allowed to return home, although it was dangerous to set his uncle at liberty, archbishop Spotswood is said to have replied : “ Mr. Andrew is but a blast, but Mr. James is a crafty byding man, and more to be feared than his uncle.” (Wodrow’s Life of James Melville, p. 146.)

calmly, that the adversaries could get no advantage." Besides what he had published at an early period of his life, he prepared several treatises for the press a short time before his death. His Supplication to the King, in the name of the Church of Scotland, a work on which he bestowed great pains, is composed in an elegant and impressive style. Possessing less fancy than feeling, his poems, which are all written in the Scottish dialect, do not rise above mediocrity ; but from this censure, some parts of his Lamentation over the overthrow of the Church of Scotland deserve to be exempted*.

The distress which Melville felt at receiving the tidings of his nephew's death was calm and silent, because it was deep. It is expressed with a tender simplicity in the epitaph which he wrote for him†. In a letter to his friend Dury at Leyden, he says : "The Lord hath taken to himself the faithful brother, my dearly beloved son, Mr. James Melville, in January ; as I am informed by Mr. James Fullerton. I fear melancholy to have abridged his days. He was in great perplexity and doubt what to do, as ye know and as Mr. Bamford wrote me ; and I answered by these letters which I sent to you. I cannot tell if they be yet beside you ; but I persuade myself he has never seen them. He was resolved to accept no restitution without you and

* See Note D.

† This epitaph is printed at the end of the *Libellus Supplex* of James Melville. (See Note D.)

Mr. Forbes. Now he is out of all doubt and fashion *, enjoying the fruits of his suffering here: God forgive the instruments of his withholding from his flock. I cannot write more at this time. If ye have received the particulars of his sickness and his death, I pray you let me know the circumstances at large †."

Besides the civilities which he shewed to all the students, Melville paid particular attention to such of his countrymen as came to the university of Sedan. Among these were John Dury, afterwards well known for the persevering exertions which he made to accomplish a union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches ‡, and the learned Dr. John Forbes, son to the bishop of Aberdeen §. Dr. Arthur Jonston, the poet, also spent a considerable part of his early life in the university of Sedan. His juvenile effusions prove that he lived on a footing of intimacy with Melville, who treated him with kindness as the nephew of his former colleague, and could not fail to be pleased with a young man whose literary taste was so congenial to his own, and who had already given flattering presages of those ta-

* Trouble.

† Letters from Melville to Robert Durie, num. 5: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 42. These letters are written in English.

‡ He was the son of Robert Dury at Leyden. (Melville's Letters to Durie, num. 4.)

§ See the Preface and Letters prefixed to his Latin translation of his father's Commentary on the Revelation, Amst. 1646. He is known by his learned work, *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*, in 2 vols. folio.

lents which entitle him to rank, as a sacred poet, next to Buchanan *.—During his residence at Sedan, Melville kept up a correspondence with different literary characters on the continent, of whom Heinsius, Gomarus, and Du Plessis were the principal †.

In addition to his ordinary academical employment, he was involved at this time in a controversy, which was peculiarly delicate from the connexion in which he was placed with the individual who was his principal opponent. At his first coming to Sedan he found several of the students infected with Arminianism ‡. His colleague Tilenus, after publishing against this system of faith, became a convert to it §. But instead of avowing the change, he exerted himself covertly, and contrary to his subscription, in instilling his new opinions into the minds of the students ||. Melville had an instinctive abhorrence of every thing like duplicity and breach of trust. He accordingly concurred with

* Vita Arct. Jonstoni, in Poet. Scot. Mus. Sac. pp. xxxi, xxxv. In the works of Jonston, besides an encomiastic poem on Melville, are *Lusus Amæbei*, consisting of a poetical correspondence supposed to have passed between the author and Tilenus and Melville, at Sedan. Tilenus is rallied on the long-delayed birth of a daughter, and Melville on his being childless and an old bachelor. (Arturi Jonstoni Poemata, pp. 371, 387—397. Middelb. 1642.)

† Letters to Robert Durie, *passim*. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, pp. 53, 58.

‡ Melville's Letters to Robert Durie, num. 1.

§ Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica, tom. ii. pp. 544, 558.

|| Letter from Rivet to Boyd of Trochrig, Dec. 3, 1617; in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 194.

some of his colleagues in exposing an insidious attempt to pervert the sentiments of the young men under his charge, and to ruin the university. In consequence of this Tilenus left Sedan, and became an open and virulent adversary of Calvinism *.

* *Scoti seu ruzores* Paraclesis, pp. 34, 35. *Epistolæ Eccles. et Theolog.* pp. 17, 616, 619, 770. *Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. iv. p. 606.

Tilenus shewed himself so violent and unfair in his representations of the opinions of his old friends that the more judicious Remonstrants were ashamed of his conduct. Yet a late controversial writer against Calvinism, in stating the opinions of his opponents, has given the propositions of the Synod of Dort, not in the words of the Synod itself, but of its adversary *Tilenus*, as "*the most moderate and impartial account of their proceedings!*" (*Copleston's Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, pp. 217, 218.) But this is not all: the quotation is purely apocryphal. The propositions are not those of Tilenus, nor are they taken from a work of his, but from a satirical dialogue or mock-trial, published by an anonymous sectary during the Cromwellian Protectorate, into which the name of Tilenus was *fictitiously* introduced. The work is entitled, "*The Examination of Tilenus before the Triers, in order to his intended settlement in the Office of a Public Preacher in the Commonwealth of Utopia.*" The following are the names of some of the Triers: Dr. Absolute, Mr. Fatalitie, Mr. Narrow-grace, alias Stint-grace, and Dr. Dam-man. Now, if it had so happened that the propositions of the Synod of Dort had been put into the mouth of this last personage instead of Tilenus, we should no doubt have been told by the learned Provost of Oriel College, that this said Dr. *Damn-man* was a "*most moderate and impartial*" writer, and left to seek for him and his works in the land of *Utopia*; where also, if anywhere, we might have found "*the Landgrave of Turing! a patron of the reformed doctrines,*" who justified his vicious life by the doctrine of predestination! (*Enquiry*, p. 31.) A modern writer who could trust *Heylin* as an authority, deserved to fall into such ridiculous blunders. —As the subject has been introduced, I must be allowed to add, that the publications against Calvinism which have lately appeared in England are, in their statement of the question, unfair; in their reasoning, shallow; and, in respect of the knowledge which they display of the history of theological opinions, contemptible.

Spotswood betrays his ignorance, as well as his spleen, in the short account which he gives of Melville after he was released from the Tower. "He was sent to Sedan (says he) where he lived in no great respect, and contracting the gout lay almost bedfast to his death *." Considering his advanced age when he was banished to France, it would not have excited surprise if he had spent the remainder of his days in inactivity, or without performing any thing which attracted the public attention. But the facts which we have stated testify the contrary. Nor durst the bishops of Scotland grant permission to this same unrespected and bedfast invalid to return to his native country, although they knew that the act would have gained them the greatest credit. The archbishop ought to have avoided any allusion to his disorder, considering that it was contracted in the prison to which the bishops had been the instruments of dooming him. He had, indeed, begun to feel the infirmities of old age, but not to such a degree as to prevent him from performing his professional duties, to subdue the undaunted spirit of which his adversaries stood in so much awe, or even to mar his wonted cheerfulness †. In a letter written in the year 1612, he says, as if in answer to the above insinuation: "Am I not threescore

* Hist. p. 500.

† Speaking of Spotswood's behaviour in the General Assembly held in 1617, Simson says: "Necnon furere et debacchari in Andream Melvinum, virum optimum, et fœdissimis calumniis absentem mordere qui presentem nisi tremulus videre vix potuerit." (Annales, p. 137.)

and eight years old ; unto the which age none of my fourteen brethren came ? And yet, I thank God, I eat, I drink, I sleep as well as I did these thirty years bygone, and better than when I was younger—in *ipso flore adolescentiæ*. Only the gravel now and then seasons my mirth with some little pain, which I have felt only since the beginning of March the last year, a month before my deliverance from prison. I feel, thank God, no abatement of the alacrity and ardour of my mind for the propagation of the truth. Neither use I spectacles now more than ever ; yea, I use none at all, nor ever did, and see now to read Hebrew without points, and in the smallest characters. Why may I not live to see a chagement to the better, when the prince shall be informed truly by honest men, or God open his eyes and move his heart to see the pride of stately prelates * ?” In a letter written to the same correspondent in the course of the following year, he says : “ I thank you, loving brother, for your care of us ; but I fear I put you to over great charge in paying for my letters, which I would not do if I were sure that my letters would be delivered in case I would pay for them ; such is either the negligence or greediness of this age. I know your loving heart ; but it is indiscretion on my part to burden you too much. Take this *English* word in good part—it fell out of the pen. My heart is a *Scotch* heart, and as good or better nor ever it was, both toward God and man. The Lord only

* Letters to Robert Durie, num. 1.

be praised thereof, to whom belongs all glory. Who can tell when out of this confusion it may please him to draw out some good order, to the comfort of his children and relief of his servants? Courage, courage, brother! *Judicabimus angelos; quanto magis mortales!*" And in the year 1616, he writes again to Dury: "Let the bishops be mowdewarps*: we will lay up our treasures in heaven, where they be safe. My colic, gravel, and gout, be messengers (but not importune) to spoil my patience, but to exercise my faith. My health is better nor I would look for at this age: praised be the true Mediator, to whose glory may it serve and to the benefit of his church †.

After his settlement at Sedan, he requested his friends in London to embrace any favourable opportunity that might offer for procuring his restoration. But this he did not so much from any hopes of success which he entertained, as to shew "that he had not thrown off all regard to the church and land of his fathers, and did not contemn the favour of his sovereign ‡." In the year 1616, Forbes went to England, and, after waiting six months, was admitted to kiss his Majesty's hand, and obtained a promise (which was never realized) that he and Dury would be relieved from banishment. In a letter which Melville wrote to Dury, he says, after some satirical reflections on the hand which Spotswood had in that affair: "This I write not to hin-

* moles.

† Letters to Robert Durie, num. 3 and 4.

‡ Melvini Epist. p. 293.

der you to accept of your liberty obtained already at the king's hands, as I am informed by Mr. Forbes's letters. You are wise and resolute in the Lord, whose Spirit hath guided you hitherto in your wanderings through the wilderness of this crooked age. I am rejoiced to hear both of your coming home, and replanting in the ministry at home.—As for me, I know their double dealing from the beginning, and how I am both hated and feared by them; and so was my cousin Mr. James. The Metropolitan, I ween, was minded to deal for me; but my late-written verses offended both King and bishops. Yet they be general, and such as none but a wan-shapen bishop can be offended with—*πανουργος και δεινος ανθρωπος*. I am not weary of this *sejour*, grace and hospitality in Sedan *.”

He lost this correspondent, who died at Leyden in the course of this year †. Of all his friends, next to his nephew, he felt most attached to Dury, and his letters to him are written in the most confidential strain, mingled with kind-hearted and familiar pleasantries ‡. John Forbes survived his fellow-exile many

* Letters to Robert Durie, num. 6.

† Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 145.

‡ In one of his letters to him, he says: “Faill not to send Arminius against Perkins *De Predestinatione*, whatever it cost, with the contra-poison done be Gomarus, *quem singulariter amo et revero*. When our dame bakes you shall have a sconne [cake.] Commend me to my good cummer, and to my godson, and the rest of the bairns—I may see them once er I die, now entering my seventie year.” And in another letter: “To be short, I have been these eight days exercised with a rheum, and this day have ta'en a sirope; so that er it be long

years, and died in Holland about the year 1634, after he had been removed from his charge at Delft by the jealous interference of the English government *.

In the beginning of the year 1619, the town of Sedan was a scene of festivity, in consequence of the marriage of Marie de la Tour, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Bouillon, to the Duke de la Tremouille †. On that occasion Melville resolved not to be behind the most juvenile of his colleagues in testifying his respect for the family of his noble patron; and he produced an *Epithalamium*. A marriage-song by a Professor of Divinity, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, may be regarded as a literary curiosity; and it proves that old age, though it could not fail to have cooled, had not been able to quench his genius. The theme which he chose was not, however, unbecoming his character and years; and probably thinking that, in his circumstances, it was enough to have shown his good will, he did not finish the poem ‡.

To the latest period of his life, he continued alive to the general welfare of the reformed church, and the private welfare of his particular friends. But he felt peculiarly interested in the affairs of the

I hope to drink to you. My cummer and all the bairns be locked up in my heart."

* Preface to his "Four Sermons on 1 Tim. vi. 13—16. Published by S. O. Anno 1635." Forbes is the author of several other treatises, and lived greatly respected in Holland.

† Mémoires de Mornay du Plessis, tom. iv. pp. 105, 156.

‡ Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. pp. 66—81.

Church of Scotland, which, before his death, was again converted into a scene of contention, in prosecution of the preposterous scheme of bringing it to a complete conformity to the Church of England. When episcopal government was forced on Scotland, if any person had asserted that this was only a prelude to the obtrusion of the English forms of worship, he would have run the risk of being prosecuted for "lese-making." Yet there can be now no doubt that this formed from the beginning an essential part of the plan of the court. The bishops were aware that the nation was averse to it, and afraid that it might excite such discontent as would prove hazardous to their precarious pre-eminence. They accordingly made an attempt to divert his Majesty from pushing the projected change. But a manly opposition to any measure which was sanctioned by the royal pleasure, however impolitic, was not to be expected from those who had declared themselves the creatures of the court; and having received a magisterial reprimand for their ignorant scruples and impertinent interference, they consented to become servile instruments in executing the will of the monarch, and in forcing the obnoxious ceremonies on a reclaiming and insulted nation*.

* Lord Hailes, *Memor. and Letters*, vol. i. pp. 79—83. The bishops pleaded that his Majesty was determined at all events to impose the ceremonies, and that, if they did not yield, he would overthrow the church. This might be the impression on the minds of some of them; but it is evident, at least, that there was a collusion between the court and the primate. Before the General

After an ineffectual attempt at St. Andrews in 1617, they succeeded in accomplishing their object in a General Assembly held at Perth in the course of the following year. By flatteries, falsehoods, and threatenings, a majority of votes was procured in favour of such of the English rites as it pleased the court at that time to select. *The Five Articles of Perth*, as the acts of this assembly are usually called, enjoined kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine, the observance of holidays, episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and private communicating. These were ratified by Parliament in the year 1621, and enforced by the High Commission; but they met with great resistance, and were never universally obeyed*.

About this time also certain changes on the university of St. Andrews were completed. Soon af-

Assembly had agreed to the innovations, Spotswood writes: "We are here to communicate, God willing, on Easter-day, when I shall have every thing in that manner performed as your Majesty desires. All of our number are advertised to do the like in their places; and the most I know will observe the samine. Our adversaries will call this a transgression of the received custom; but I do not yet see that any thing will effect their obedience, save your Majesty's authority." (Letter to the King, March 29, 1618: Wodrow's Life of Spots. p. 74.)

* Printed Cald. pp. 698—715. Spotswood, pp. 537—540. Course of Conformity, pp. 58—103. Scoti τῶν τυχόντων Paraclesis, pp. 179—181. Perth Assembly, pp. 7—10, 14. Printed anno 1619. The account, given in the last-mentioned tract, of the threats employed in the Assembly, is not materially contradicted by the episcopal advocate, Bishop Lyndsay, in his True Narrative of Proceedings in the Assembly at Perth, pp. 87—89; and it is confirmed by the official account of the King's Commissioner, published by Lord Hailes. (Memor. i. 87—91.)

ter archbishop Gladstones obtained the direction of its affairs, he revived the professorship of canon law, to which he nominated his son-in-law; "as the ready way to bring out the presbyterian discipline from the hearts of the young ones, and to acquaint even the eldest with the ancient church government whereof they are ignorant*." In commemorating the obligations which the literature of Scotland is under to the archbishop, we must not forget his exertions for the revival of academical degrees in divinity. Upon the expulsion of Melville, he expressed much anxiety to have his successor invested with "Insignia Doctoratus," and requested his Majesty, in his "incomparable wisdom," to send him "the form and order of making Bachelors and Doctors of Divinity," that he might "create one or two Doctors, to incite others to the same honour, and to encourage *our ignorant clergy* to learning. And the primate proposed that such graduates should, "in presentation to benefices, be preferred to others†." This object was not, however, gained until the year 1616, after the death of Gladstones, when Dr. John Young, Dean of Winchester, came to St. Andrews with the royal instructions, and presided in the first act. His Majesty directed that those who were found qualified for degrees should "preach a sermon

* Letter to the King, May 3, 1611: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1. 12. num. 17.

† Letter and Memoires to his Sacred Majesty, Sept. 8, 1607: MS. *ibid.* M. 6. 9. num. 58, 59.

before the Lords at Edinburgh, in a hood agreeing to their degree, that so they might be known" (by the *hood* or by the *sermon* ?) "to be men fitte for the prime places of the church *." Previously to the introduction of this important improvement, the divines who came from England for the purpose of forwarding the conformity between the two churches, were exceedingly struck with the literary sterility of our country. Like a celebrated traveller who could scarcely observe a tree above the size of a bush between Berwick and St. Andrews, the English Doctors could not hear of above *one* of their own species in the whole kingdom : so that if prompt measures had not been taken to have the race propagated by help from England, it must inevitably, within a short time, have become wholly extinct †. The presbyterians, indeed, had doctors, but then they were no more than teachers ; and in their church calendar were placed below the pastors of parishes. It cannot be denied that "our ignorant clergy" exerted themselves in promoting literature ; but then their exertions were confined to the task of *making* men learned, and they neglected the work

* His Majesty's Letter and Articles for the University. In the Articles it is appointed that five holidays shall be annually celebrated in the University, with suitable prayers and sermons.

† "The name of a School Doctor was grown out of date : only one Graduat (that I did hear of) at St. Andrews did outlive that injury of times. Now comes his Majesty (as one born to the honour of learning) and restores the schools to their former glories." (Letter of Dr. Joseph Hall to Mr. William Struthers ; in Wodrow's Life of Struthers, p. 3 : MSS. vol. ii.)

of *calling* them so. They prescribed, it is true, an extensive course of theological instruction, and enacted that none should be admitted to the ministry who had not completed this course, and could not procure testimonials of his diligence and proficiency from the professors under whom he had studied; but then they were completely ignorant of the art of creating divines by certain mystic words and symbols. The truth is, that they did not object to academical graduation, so far as it was necessary to mark the progress which young men had made in their theological studies*. But they did not admit that it belonged to universities to license persons to teach divinity *ubicunque terrarum*; they were jealous of those titles which, in the English church, had been always associated with ideas of ecclesiastical superiority; and they knew that, considered merely as badges of honour, instead of being a reward to merit or an incentive to diligence, they served chiefly to tickle the vanity of the weak, bolster up the pretensions of the arrogant, and induce persons to

* "Anent proceeding be degrees in Schooles to the degree of a Doctor of Divinity, it was ordained (by the General Assembly, Anno 1569) that the brethren of Sanct Andrews convene and form such order as they sall think meet, and that they present the same to the next Assembly to be revised and considered, that the Assembly may eik or diminish as they sall think good, and that thereafter the order allowed be established." (Cald. ii. 123.) "The appellation of the degrees appoyntit be his Matie to be heirefter in the yierlie course of theologie wthin the New College to be advysed be the counsell [of the university] and reported to his Matie upon the forsaid day." (Visit. of University of St. Andrews, anno 1599.)

sigh after the name instead of the reality of learning. *Lis est de nomine, non re.*

An overweening fondness for mere forms is usually accompanied with indifference to the substance, in literature and in religion. The same prelate who testified such eagerness to have the clergy decorated with empty titles and silken robes, banished the man who had done more to raise their character, in point of literary and theological endowments, than all the gowned graduates who had filled the academical chairs of Scotland for two hundred years. And the same parliament which ratified the Articles of Perth, repealed the act of 1579, which reformed the University of St. Andrews, and thus threw education back to the state in which it was before the revival of letters. The apology made for this disgraceful act of the legislature was, "that it is equitable that the will of the original founders should take effect so far as is consistent with the religion presently professed. But if a deviation from the will of the founders in such an important point as that of religion was warrantable and proper, what reasonable objection could be urged against such a change on the mode of instruction as was necessary to accommodate it to the progress which the age had made in knowledge and literature? The true reasons for the repeal of the act of 1579 were, on the part of the professors, an aversion to the arduous course of instruction which that act prescribed; and, on the part of the bishops, an antipathy to the men who had recommended it, and an anxiety to remove

every monument of the existence and triumph of presbytery. But, eager as they were to accomplish this object, the utility of the New College, as constituted on Melville's favourite plan, was so universally acknowledged, that they durst not touch it; and, accordingly, an express exception, though at variance with the principle assumed in the act, was made in its favour*.

What Melville's feelings on receiving information of the procedure of the General Assembly at Perth were, we learn from a letter written, at his direction, by one of his students to a friend in Scotland who had lately been at Sedan. He was not prepared to expect that the rulers would push matters to such an extreme. Cherishing the hope that the corruptions lately established would work their own cure, and that the barons would soon grow weary of a tyranny which they had unwarily contributed to erect, he had of late curbed, instead of stimulating, the zeal of such of his acquaintance as returned from France to Scotland, and whom he knew to be ardently attached to the presbyterian constitution; but now he judged it necessary to rouse his brethren to a vigorous resistance of the innovations which it was attempted to impose. He felt deeply concerned for them, and expressed a great desire to receive the earliest intelligence of all their proceedings†.

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 682, 683.

† Letter, John Hume to Mr. John Adamson, Sedan, March 9, 1620: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 80. It appears from this letter that Adamson was then employed in making a collection of Melville's poems.

As often as he took up the *Basilicon Doron* (which he frequently did) he could not refrain from tears, when he reflected on the disclosure which it made of the King's designs against the church, and on the crooked policy with which they had been carried into execution.

His desire to assist his brethren at this critical period prompted him to break through a restraint imposed on him when he was released from the Tower, and to which he had hitherto submitted. He composed a small treatise, which was published anonymously, consisting of aphorisms on things indifferent in religion, and bearing upon the chief argument used by the advocates for conformity to the obtruded ceremonies. Another work commonly ascribed to him is an answer to his late colleague, Tilenus, who, disappointed in his scheme of raising partisans in France, sought to ingratiate himself with King James by a defence of the late proceedings in Scotland, and by an unprovoked and vituperative attack on the Scottish presbyterians *. The answer to Tilenus is written with great ability, and in a style of nervous

* "Parænesis ad Scotos, Geneuensis Disciplinæ Zelotas. Autore Dan. Tileno Silesio. Lond. 1620." Camden says: "Anno 1620, Sept. 5. Tilenus, magnus Theologus, venit in Angliam, & edit librum contra Scotos, zelotas disciplinæ Genevensis." (Annales, p. 61.) He published another work on the same subject, but written with greater moderation: "De Disciplina Ecclesiastica Brevis & Modesta dissertatio, ad Ecclesiam Scoticam. Autore Gallo quodam Theologo, Verbi Divini Ministro. Abredoniæ, Excudebat Eduardus Rabanus, Impensis Davidis Melvill, 1622."

reasoning, seasoned with satire, which is, upon the whole, less severe than the rudeness of the attack which it repels would have justified *. But it was not the work of Melville; although it is not unlikely that he furnished materials to his friend, Sir James Sempill, who was the real author †.

The sources of intelligence have now failed me, and I have it not in my power to communicate any additional information relative to the latter period of Melville's life. In 1620 his health grew worse ‡; and it is probable that the distempers with which he had been occasionally visited ever since he was in the Tower, became now more frequent in their attacks, and gradually wasted his constitution. He died at Sedan in the course of the year 1622, at

* "*Scoti seu ruxonios Paraclesis contra Danielis Tileni Silesii Parænesin.*—Cuius pars prima est, *De Episcopali Ecclesiæ Regimine. Anno 1622.*" At the close of the work, the author signifies his intention of publishing two other parts, on Elders, and on the Five Ceremonies obtruded on the Church of Scotland. But the necessity for these was superseded by the elaborate *Altare Damascenum* of Calderwood, which appeared in the course of the following year.

† Melville is repeatedly referred to in that work, and we cannot suppose that he would have spoken of himself, even for the purpose of concealment, in such terms as the following:—"in quibus præcipuus erat *divinus* noster *Melvinus*." (P. 86. Conf. p. 231.) Add to this the testimony of Calderwood, who had the best opportunity of being informed on the subject: "About this time (1620) *Tilenus*, a Silesian by birth, a professor in Sedan, came to England, looking for great preferment and benefit for a pamphlet, intituled *Parænesis ad Scotos Genevensis disciplinæ zelotas*, wherein he defended the state of bishops and the five articles. The booke was confuted soone after by Sir James Sempill of Beltrise, and he the author of the booke intituled *Altare Damascenum*." (Cald. viii. 962, 963.)

‡ Hume's Letter to Adamson, *ut supra*.

the advanced age of seventy-seven years*. At that time, there was at least one of his countrymen in the university, Alexander Colville, who enjoyed his friendship, and, it may be believed, would not fail to pay every attention to his venerable master in his last moments†. In consequence of the civil war which raged in France, it was a considerable time before his friends in Scotland were apprized of the fact of his death; and, even then, they were left in ignorance of the circumstances which attended it‡.

* “Andreas Melvinus, vir maxime pietatis, singularis zeli (zelus domus Dei comedit eum), omnium linguarum et scientiarum acumine primus, imo solus; Athenas et Solymam in Scotiam induxit; pseudo-episcopatus et papistarum hostis acerrimus; cœlebs, castus; advocatus a Rege, Turri conjicitur: post Dux Buloniæ in Galliam ducit, ubi fortissimus *αλκας*, jam octogenarius moritur, 1622.” (Simsoni Annales. See also Wodrow’s Life of Andrew Melville, p. 112.)

† Hume’s Letter, *ut supra*. Petri Molinæi Oratio—habita Sedani viij. Idus Decembres 1628, ante inaugurationem viri doctissimi Alexandri Colvini in gradum Doctoratus eiusq; admissionem ad Professionem Theologicam. Sedani 1629. From this Oration (p. 129,) it appears that Colville had been for several years Professor of Hebrew before he was admitted to the theological chair. In 1642, he was called from Sedan to be Professor of Divinity in the New College of St. Andrews. (Baillie’s Letters, vol. i. p. 305. Index to Unprinted Acts of Assembly, 1642.)

‡ Robert Boyd of Trochrig, at that time Principal of the University of Edinburgh, has the following notice of Melville’s death in his *Obituary*. “May the Lord have pity upon us, and preserve in us the work of his own grace, for the good and salvation of our soul, and the destruction of this body of death and sin! As to the death of that venerable father of our church, the ornament of his nation, and great light of this age, in all virtue, learning, vivacity of spirit, promptitude, zeal, holy freedom and boldness, and invincible cou-

It is natural for us to desire minute information respecting the decease of any individual in whose life we have taken a deep interest ; and we cannot help feeling disappointed, when we are barely told that "he died." But laudable as this curiosity may be, and gratifying and useful as it is to have the spiritual portrait of a great and good man drawn on his death-bed and at the hour of his departure, we ought not to forget that there is a still more decisive and unequivocal test of character. It was by the faith which he evinced during his life that the first martyr "obtained witness that he was righteous ; and by it he, being dead, yet speaketh." We have no reason to regret being left without any

rage in a good cause, with a holy course of life and resolution, who dyed at Sedan last year, 1622, aged about 80 years. He was rejected of his native country, by the malice of the times and men, because he had, with fortitude and firmness, maintained the truth, and given testimony to it before the princes of this world. He had kept a good conscience, without changes, either out of fear, or by the flattery and favour of men, after his imprisonment in the Tower of London, and his living an exile of more than 10 years. As to his death, I say, and the particular circumstances of it, I have not yet received distinct and certain information, because of the trouble and persecutions arisen in the church of France for some years. May the Lord conduct us by the strait gate to his kingdom of everlasting peace, for the merits of his weel beloved Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen." (Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 146.)—Calderwood, in a work which he published in Holland in the year 1623, says: "*De Melvino autem affirmare nulla assentatione (nam audio paulo ante fatis cessasse) melius Regi ab infantia voluisse, quam assentatores istos.*" (Altare Damasc. p. 741.) And, in the Preface to that work, he says: "*Andreas Melvinus, qui fere octogenarius diem supremum clausit in exilio, vir undique doctus, pius, candidus, et strenuus Christi miles.*"

authentic record of the manner in which the apostles finished their course, nor are we under any temptation to have recourse to suspicions and apocryphal traditions in order to supply the defect, when their writings and the history of their lives enable us "fully to know their doctrine, manner of life, purpose, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions." I have met with no account of the last sickness of Melville; but I have no doubt that he died as he lived. At a period when it was not uncommon to circulate false rumours of the death-bed recantations of men who had distinguished themselves in public controversies, it was never whispered that he had retracted his sentiments, or that he signified the smallest regret for the sufferings which he had endured in behalf of the civil and religious liberties of his country.

It is not an easy task to form a correct and impartial estimate of the talents and character of those who have distinguished themselves in great national struggles. If their contemporaries were unduly biassed by the strength of their attachments and antipathies, we who live at a later period lose in correctness of views what we gain in impartiality of judging, by the distance at which we are placed from the men whom we attempt to describe, and by want of sympathy with manners and feelings so dissimilar to our own. In forming our opinion of them from contemporary records, we are as much embarrassed by the narrow views and want of discrimination of their friends, as by the hostility and

misrepresentations of their adversaries. The narratives of public transactions transmitted to us by those who lived at the time, often resemble the description of a great battle by a spectator: officers and men are beheld confusedly mingled together, and the issue appears to depend on the exertion of brute force, aided by insensibility to danger; while the military skill and presence of mind by which the whole mass is disposed, put in motion, and governed, are disregarded and left out of view. There is still another source of error. If civil history is chiefly the record of wars and bloodshed, the pages of ecclesiastical history are too often filled with accounts of theological contention; and accustomed to contemplate the principal individuals who figure in these scenes, either in the attitude of eager assault or of stubborn resistance, we are ready to form an unfavourable opinion of their moral qualities and private dispositions. Cooler reflection, and a more minute acquaintance with facts, will serve to correct our over-hasty conclusions. When we follow the warrior into the retreats of peace, and find him displaying, in the social and domestic circle, all the gentle and amiable features of human nature, we may regret that it should ever have been necessary for him to enter on a scene which called forth the sterner feelings, but we will, at the same time, be convinced that he is incapable of wanton and deliberate cruelty, and it will require the strongest evidence to induce us to believe that he was in any instance guilty of conduct so much at

variance with what we know of his temper and habits. With respect to those who lived in former times, this information can be derived only from private memoirs and letters. When such documents relating to any individual exist, and when they have been referred to as authorities, and produced as illustrations, with fidelity and judgment, the outlines of his character are no longer left to be filled up by the fancy or the prejudices of his biographer. - If I have succeeded according to my wish, the reader is already acquainted with the person whose life is recorded in this work ; and it is not necessary for me to attempt an elaborate delineation of his character. Nor is it necessary for me to enter into a formal refutation of the erroneous opinions which have prevailed concerning it. The facts which have been produced will best serve to correct these mistakes, whether they have originated in ignorance or in prejudice.

Melville possessed great intrepidity, invincible fortitude, and unextinguishable ardour of mind. His spirit was independent, high, fiery, and incapable of being tamed by threats or violence ; but he was at the same time open, candid, generous, affectionate, faithful. The whole tenor of his life bears testimony to the sincerity and strength of his religious convictions. We do not find him making disclosures, even to his most confidential correspondents, of the secret communings of his heart with its God. But we find, what is a less equivocal proof of genuine devotion, a habitual sense of divine

things, a subjection of mind to the divine will, and a uniform aim and desire to advance the divine glory, pervading and intermingling with all that he did or said. The spirit of his piety was strikingly contrasted with that compound of indifference and selfishness which is so often lauded under the much abused names of moderation and charity. "Thou canst not bear them that are evil, and thou hast tried them that say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars," was the commendation which he coveted and which he merited. He felt, and he was not ashamed to avow, an ardent attachment to civil liberty. Possessing, in a high degree, the *perfervidum ingenium* of his countrymen, sudden and impetuous in his feelings, as well as prompt and vivacious in his conceptions, he poured out a torrent of vigorous, vehement, regardless, resistless indignation, mingled at times with defiance and scorn, on those who incurred his displeasure. But his anger, even when it rose to its greatest height, was altogether different from the ebullitions of a splenetic or rancorous mind. On no occasion was it ever excited by a sense of personal injuries, which he meekly bore and forgave. It was called forth by a strong feeling of the impropriety of the conduct which he resented, and of its tendency to injure those public interests to which he was devoted. And there was always about it an honesty, an elevation, a freedom from personal hate, malice, and revenge, which made it respected even by those who censured its violence, or who

smarted under its severity. If his religious and patriotic zeal was sometimes intemperate, it was always disinterested; if, by giving himself up to its influence, he was occasionally carried beyond the bounds of virtuous moderation and prudence, it is also true that he was borne above every sordid and mercenary aim, and escaped from the atmosphere of selfishness, in which so many who have set out well in a public career have had their zeal cooled and their progress arrested.

Notwithstanding the heat and vehemence displayed in his public conduct, he was an agreeable companion in private. Provided those who were about him could bear with his "wholesome and friendly anger," and allow him freely to censure what he thought wrong in their conduct, he assumed no arrogant airs of superiority, exacted no humiliating marks of submission, but lived with them as a brother among brethren. His heart was susceptible of all the humane and social affections. Though he spent the greater part of his life in a college, he was no ascetic or morose recluse; and though "his book was his bride and his study his bride-chamber *," yet he felt as tender a sympathy with his friends in all their domestic concerns, as if he had been himself a husband and a father. The gay, good-humoured, hearty pleasantry which appears in his familiar letters, evinces a cheerfulness and kindliness of dispo-

* An expression applied to Archbishop Grindal, who never married.

sition, which continued, to the latest period of his life, unsoured by the harsh treatment which he met with, and uninjured by the fretting infirmities of old age.

His intellectual endowments were confessedly superior. Possessing a vigorous mind, cultivated by study, he excelled all his countrymen of that age in the acquirements of a various and profound erudition. He was the first Scotchman who added a taste for elegant literature to an extensive acquaintance with theology. In all the important public transactions of his time, he sustained a conspicuous part. But those who have represented him as exercising, or affecting to exercise, the authority of the leader of a party, in the common acceptance of that term, have greatly mistaken his character. He had no pretension to those talents which qualify one for this task. He was a stranger to the smooth arts and insinuating address by which persons whose talents were not of the highest order have often succeeded in managing public bodies. He could not stoop to flatter and fawn upon the multitude, nor was he disposed to make those sacrifices of principle and personal independence which are required from every one who sets up for the head of a party. Nevertheless, his reputation for learning and probity, his extensive acquaintance with the subjects in debate, his promptitude of mind, his ready, fervid, and vehement eloquence, and, above all, the heroic courage and firmness which he uniformly displayed in the hour of danger, gave him an ascendancy over

the public mind which was in some respects greater than that exerted by any acknowledged leader. In the church courts there were others better qualified for moderating in a debate, for directing the mode of procedure, or conducting a negotiation with the court ; but still Melville was regarded by the nation as the master-spirit which animated the whole body, and watched over the rights and liberties of the church. His zeal and fearlessness led him sometimes, in the heat of action, to leave the ranks of his brethren, and to seize a position which they deemed improper or hazardous ; but still their eye was fixed on him, and they were encouraged by his example to maintain the conflict on lower and less dangerous ground.

I have not met with any description of his external appearance, except that given by his Majesty, who has informed us that he was of low stature *. Nor do I know of any portrait of him. His bodily constitution was sound ; he enjoyed a long course of good health ; his animal spirits were lively ; and he was a stranger to those alternate visitations of morbid sensibility and oppressive languor by which men of talents and studious habits are often tormented.

The greater part of Melville's writings consists of Latin poems †. These display the vigour of his imagination and the elegance of his taste ; and

* See above, vol. i. p. 379.

† A list of his works will be found in Note E.

some of them will bear a comparison with the productions of such of his contemporaries as were the greatest masters of that species of writing. But, though his poems were admired at the time when they appeared, it must be confessed that they have not transmitted his reputation to posterity. This is chiefly to be ascribed to the change which has taken place in literary taste, and the disrepute into which such compositions have fallen in later times. It has been also owing in some degree to his not having produced a work of any great extent, a circumstance which has no small influence on public opinion. Had Buchanan not published his Paraphrase of the Psalms, the merit of his other poetical pieces would probably have been now known only to a few. Melville found always sufficient active employment to excuse him from the duty of writing for the public. He was not ambitious of literary fame, and was quite superior to mercenary views; nor had the art of converting authorship into an engine for making a fortune been discovered in that age. Another circumstance which has proved injurious to his literary fame is, that a great number of his poems are satires on the hierarchy. This, together with the firm resistance which he made to the episcopal polity, excited a strong antipathy against him among the defenders of the English church, who have either disparaged his talents or treated his writings with neglect*.

* See Dr. Duport's verses "In Andream Melvinum Scotum, de sua Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria, Saphico versu conscripta;" added to

Not that all of them are chargeable with this injustice. Isaac Walton, though displeased with the freedoms which Melville had taken with his favourite church, does not attempt to deny or conceal his talents *. A modern English divine, who is a much better judge than Walton, speaks of him in the following terms. "The learning and abilities of Mr. Melville were equalled only by the purity of

his edition of "*Eccelesiastes Salamonis—1662.*" A striking specimen of the spirit referred to in the text is given by Bishop Nicolson. In his account of treatises left by Scotchmen "on the description and antiquities of their country," he says: "I have not seen *And. Melvin's Fragmentum de Origine Gentis Scotorum.* Nor will the character which a modern writer gives of the author tempt any man to enquire after it." (Scottish Hist. Library, p. 15. Lond. 1702. 8vo.) Now, the work was staring the worthy bishop in the face all the time, in a book which he had repeatedly quoted. The reader may be curious to see the character which made an *Antiquarian* so indifferent about a discourse on *Antiquities*; and as this character is really a curiosity of its kind, I shall subjoin it. "Master Andrew Melvil—was a Man, by Nature, fierce and fiery, confident and peremptory, peevish and ungovernable: Education in him, had not sweetened Nature, but Nature had sowed Education; and both conspiring together, had trickt him up into a true Original; a piece compounded of pride and petulance, of jeer and jangle, of Satyre and Sarcasm; of venome and vehemence: He hated the Crown as much as the Mitre, the Scepter as much as the Crosier, and could have made as bold with the Purple as with the Rochet: His prime Talent was Lampooning and writing Anti-Tami-Cami-Categorias. In a word, He was the very Archetypal Bitter Beard of the Party." (Sage's Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, pp. 217, 218.)

* He was, says he, "master of a great wit, a wit full of knots and clenches; a wit sharp and satirical: exceeded, I think, by none of that nation but their Buchanan." This testimony to Melville, which appeared in the first edition of the *Life of George Herbert*, was suppressed in the subsequent editions. Dr. Zouch restored it in his edition of Walton's Lives, p. 295.

his manners and the sanctity of his life. His temper was warm and violent; his carriage and zeal perfectly suited to the times in which he lived. Archbishop Spotswood is uniformly unfriendly to his memory. He seems to have been treated by his adversaries with great asperity."—And, having quoted Duport's poem against him, he adds: "Let it not, however, be inferred from these verses, that Andrew Melville always sought to dip his pen in gall; that he was principally delighted with the severity of satire and invective. He occasionally diverted his muse to the subject of just panegyric. In many of his epigrams he has celebrated the literary attainments of his contemporaries. He has endeared his name to posterity by his encomium on the profound learning of the two Scaligers, and the classic elegance of Buchanan, his preceptor, and the parent of the Muses. His Latin paraphrase of the Song of Moses is truly excellent—exquisitely beautiful*."

Melville's reputation, however, does not rest on his writings. It is founded on the active services which he performed for his country—on his successful exertions in behalf of its literature, and his activity in rearing and defending that ecclesiastical polity by which it has long been distinguished. There may be some who are disposed to depreciate the last of these services, and to represent him as contending, and exposing himself to sufferings, for

* Dr. Zouch, Walton's Lives, pp. 354, 365.

disputable and controverted points of small moment, relating to forms of government and plans of discipline. Such language, though sometimes employed by good and well-meaning men, proceeds from very narrow and mistaken views. If applied to civil government, who does not see the sweeping inferences to which it would lead? It would discredit the most meritorious struggles in behalf of liberty and law which mark the most glorious epochs in our history. It would condemn those patriots who nobly bled in defence of this sacred cause on the scaffold or in the field, and represent them as having "died as a fool dieth," if not as rebels and ringleaders of revolt. And it would sink and degrade the free constitution of Britain to a level with the despotical autocracies of Turkey and Spain. Who that has duly reflected on the subject can be ignorant that forms of government exert a mighty influence, both directly and indirectly, on the manners, and habits, and sentiments of the people who live under them; and that some of these forms are unspeakably preferable to others? That they are better adapted to impose a check on ambitious or corrupt rulers—prevent or correct abuses arising from mal-administration—provide for the impartial distribution of justice—preserve the spirit and perpetuate the enjoyment of liberty—promote education, virtue, and religion; and, in fine, to secure to the people at large all that happiness which it is the original and proper design of government to procure and bestow? The opposite sentiment is so palpably absurd, that there is ground

to suspect that it is often adopted by persons as an excuse for their apathy to the public welfare, or an apology for maintaining connexions which they find to be conducive to the advancement of their secular interests. These remarks apply with greater force to ecclesiastical than to political government. Setting aside entirely the argument from scripture ; the advancement of the interests of religion, the preservation of purity of faith and morals, the regular dispensing of religious instruction and of all divine ordinances, and, in general, the promoting of the spiritual improvement and salvation of the people, have always depended, and must always depend, in a high degree, on the form of government established in a church, and on the rules by which discipline is exercised in it. Perfection is not to be expected in any society on earth, and the best system of laws may be abused, and will cease to accomplish its ends when the vivific spirit has been suffered to depart ; but when these ends are habitually and glaringly counteracted in any church, it will generally be found, on examination, that some check or corrective which scripture, reason, and the circumstances of the times warranted and pointed out, has been removed or was wanting. The ecclesiastical constitution which Melville had the chief hand in establishing, is eminently calculated to advance these ends. And to it, joined to the spirit which he infused by his example and instructions, Scotland has been indebted for other blessings of a collateral kind, and of the highest importance. To it she

owes that system of education which has extended its blessings to the lowest class in the community. To it she owes the intelligence, sobriety, and religious principle which distinguish her commonalty from those of other countries. To it she owed a simple, unambitious, laborious, and at the same time independent order of ministers. And to it she was indebted for that public spirit which has resisted manifold disadvantages in her political situation and institutions ;—disadvantages, which otherwise must have reduced her to a state of slavery, and made her the instrument of enslaving the nation with which she became allied, first by the union of the crowns, and afterwards by the union of the kingdoms.

It is a great mistake to suppose, and the facts which have been adduced in the preceding narrative, refute the supposition, that Melville and his associates were engaged merely in resisting the imposition of certain ecclesiastical forms. The object of the contest was far more extensive and momentous. The efficiency, if not the existence, of that discipline which had long operated as a powerful check on irreligion and vice, was at stake. The independence, and consequently the usefulness of the ministers was struck at. The inferior judicatories might be allowed to meet, but only under a guard of episcopal janizaries. The General Assembly might be occasionally called together, but merely for the purpose of recording royal edicts, and becoming an instrument of greater oppression and

tyranny than the court could have exercised without its aid. The immediate object of the King, by the changes which he made in the government of the church, was to constitute himself Dictator in all matters of religion; and his ultimate object was, by means of the bishops, to overturn the civil liberties of the nation, and to become absolute master of the consciences, properties, and lives of all his subjects in the three kingdoms. It was a contest therefore that involved all that is dear to men and Christians—all that is valuable in liberty and sacred in religion. Melville was the first to discover and to denounce the scheme which was planned for the overthrow of these; and he persisted in opposing its execution at the expense of deprivation of office, imprisonment, and perpetual banishment from his native country. No sufferings to which he was subjected could bring him to retract the opposition which he had made to it. No offers which he received could induce him to give it the slightest mark of his approbation. By the fortitude, constancy, and cheerfulness with which he bore his exile, he continued to testify against it; and, by animating his brethren who remained at home, he contributed materially to bring about a revolution, which, not long after his death, levelled with the ground that ill-omened fabric, the rearing of which had cost the labour of so many years, and the expense of so much principle and conscience.

CHAPTER XI.

STATE OF LITERATURE IN SCOTLAND WHEN
MELVILLE WAS SETTLED AT ST. ANDREWS,
ANNO 1580.

Erection of University of St. Andrews—Its Constitution—Colleges founded in it—State of the University at the Reformation—Mode of Teaching and Conferring Degrees in the Faculty of Arts—and of Theology—New Plan of the University in the First Book of Discipline—by Buchanan—by Parliament—Sketch of the New Mode of Teaching—Melville's Share in Drawing it up—Reform on the Other Universities—Parochial Schools—High School of Glasgow—of Edinburgh—Scholastic Philosophy—John Rutherford—Civil Law—William Skene—Edward Henryson—Theology and Poetry—Alexander Arbuthnot—Thomas Smeton—Thomas Maitland—Patrick Adamson—John Davidson.

WE have had repeated occasion, in the preceding pages, to advert to the state of literature in Scotland. But the subject, from its importance, and the connexion in which it stands with the life of

Melville, is entitled to something more than a cursory notice and incidental illustrations. I shall, therefore, endeavour, in this chapter, to throw some light on the state of our literature when Melville was first established in the university of St. Andrews; and, in the following chapter, shall conclude with an account of the progress which it had made when he was removed from that situation.

The literary history of Scotland at the first of these periods embraces the universities, the parochial schools, and the individuals who distinguished themselves by their writings. The university of St. Andrews was the earliest, and continued long to be the most celebrated of our academical institutions. For two centuries almost all the eminent men who appeared in this country were connected with it, either as teachers or pupils. A brief description of its constitution, the mode of instruction practised in it, and the changes made on this, will convey a better idea of the state of our literature than any sketch which I could propose to give of the history of all the universities.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, no great school existed in Scotland; and the youth who were desirous of a liberal education were under the necessity of seeking it abroad. The inconveniences arising from this were increased by the dissensions which the conflicting claims of the rival popes excited on the continent. To remedy the evil, Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, with the consent of parliament, erected, in the year 1411,

a *General Study*, or university, in the chief city of his diocese *; and, two years after, the charter which he had granted was confirmed by a bull from Benedict XIII. whom the Scots then acknowledged as sovereign pontiff †.

The university of St. Andrews was formed on the model of those of Paris and Bologna, and enjoyed the same privileges. All its members, or supposts, as they were called, including the students who had attained the degree of bachelor as well as the masters, were divided into nations, according to the places from which they came. At a congregation or general meeting, they elected four procurators, who had a right to act for them in all causes in which their interests were concerned, and four intrants or electors, by whom the rector was chosen. The rector was the chief magistrate, and had authority to judge and pronounce sentence, with the advice and consent of his assessors ‡, in all causes, civil and criminal, relating to members of the university, with the exception of crimes which incurred the highest punishment §. He had a right to re-

* Forduni Scotichron. lib. xv. chap. 22. Boethii Hist. Scot. lib. xvi. The bishop erected the university "de consilio, consensu, et communi tractatu trium Statuum personarum regni Scotie." (Bulla Foundationis Univ. S. Andree.)

† Papers of the University.

‡ In general the university elected the assessors, and empowered the Rector to appoint his deputies. The number of assessors was twelve: three from each nation.

§ "dummbdo ad atrocem injuriam non sit processus." (Concession of Privileges by Bishop Wardlaw.) There is one instance of capital

pledge any member of the university who might be called before any other judge, civil or ecclesiastical; and, in certain cases, those who did not belong to the university might be called before the rector's court, upon the complaint of a master or student. It is natural to suppose that the exercise of these powers would give occasion to a collision of authorities; and, accordingly, a concordat was entered into, at an early period, between the university and the magistrates of the city, by which the limits of their jurisdictions were defined and adjusted*. The university had the right of purchasing victuals free from custom, within the city and the regality of the abbey†. It was also exempted from paying all other imposts and taxes, even those levied by the Estates, with the exception of, what is called, *the great custom*. Its members enjoyed immunity from the duties exacted for confirming testaments; and such of them as were clergymen, and possessed benefices with cure, were liberated by the papal bull from obligation to per-

punishment being inflicted by the sentence of the rector of the university of Glasgow. (Statist. Account of Scotland, vol. xxi. Append.)

* Concordia inita, per episcop. Jac. Kennedy, inter supposita universitatis et cives Sti. Andreae, A. D. 1440.

† The prior joined with the bishop in the charter of Concession of Privileges.—The abbey of St. Andrews had a jurisdiction of its own, and magistrates independent of those of the city. About the time of the Reformation, the Master of Lindsay was "principall baillie of the priorie of Sanct-androis," and Robert Pont was "procurator phiscall of the said priorie." (Summonds—David Monepenny elder of Pitmilny agt Mr. James Wilkie, &c. March 6, 1577.)

sonal residence as long as they taught in the university*. Besides its civil and criminal jurisdiction, the university possessed ecclesiastical powers, in the exercise of which it sometimes proceeded to excommunication†. It may be mentioned as an evidence of the respect paid to literature, that, in consequence of a dispute which had arisen, it was determined that the Rector of the University should take precedence of the Prior of the Abbey in all public processions‡.

For the direction of its literary affairs, the members of the university were divided into faculties, according to the sciences that were taught. At the head of each of these was a dean, who presided at the meetings of the masters of his faculty for regulating the mode of study, and for examinations. The Chancellor presided at meetings of the uni-

* Bulla Concess. Privileg. Univ. S. A.

† In a dispute which the rector and professors of theology in the university had with the masters of St. Salvator's College about the power of conferring degrees, the former threatened the latter with ecclesiastical censures. The matter was settled by a provincial council held in 1470, in the way of the College consenting to renounce the right which they had acquired by a papal bull. (Hovei Oratio de Fundat. Univ. Andr. MS.) In the reformation of the University of St. Andrews in 1579, it is provided, "that in place of the pane of cursing vait of befoir vpoun offendour and inobedientis They be now decernit be decreit of the rector and chief membris of the vniūsitie efter the cognitioun of the caus to be debarrit secludit and remouit out of the vniūsitie And to tyne and fairfalt the priuilegis and benefitis yrof." (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 181.)

‡ Hovei Oratio.

versity for the conferring of degrees *. It was long before medicine was taught, as a separate science, in our universities, and it does not appear that they were accustomed anciently to confer degrees in law. The branches taught were the arts or philosophy, canon law, and divinity †.

However limited this course of education was, and however rude and imperfect the mode in which it was conducted, such an institution could not fail to produce effects favourable to the progress of knowledge. The erection of the University of St. Andrews may be regarded as marking the first dawn of learning in Scotland. Attracted by novelty, or animated by that thirst for knowledge which has always characterized Scotchmen, students came to St. Andrews from every part of the kingdom.

The university appears to have been possessed of very slender funds until the erection of colleges in it. The *College of St. Salvator* was founded by bishop Kennedy in the year 1450; that of *St. Leonard* was founded by John Hepburn, the prior of the abbey, in the year 1512; and the erection of *St. Mary's*, or the *New College*, was begun by archbishop Beaton in the year 1532, and completed by archbishop Hamilton in the year 1552.

* *Hovei Oratio*. The mode of study, and of examination for degrees in the arts or philosophy, appears to have been regulated soon after the erection of the university. James of Haddistoun was dean of the faculty of theology in 1432, when similar regulations were made as to theological study and graduation.

† See Note F.

Each of these was endowed with funds for the support of a certain number of professors and bursars. In the regulations of St. Mary's College, we may observe the advancement which knowledge had already made, and the influence which it exerted over the minds of the popish prelates or their advisers*.

A college has been compared to an incorporated trade within a burgh; but it bears a still more striking resemblance to a convent. The principal difference between them is, that the latter was an association entirely for religious purposes, whereas learning was the chief object of the former. The members of a college, like the monks, were bound to live, eat, and sleep in the same house, they were supported in common upon the goods of the college, and were astricted in all things to the will of the founder. A university, though a chartered body, was not under the same regulations, nor was the same provision made for its members. The college was within the university; the members of the former were also members of the latter, partook of its privileges, and were subject to its government.

Two things deserve notice as to the college of St. Leonard. In the first place, although it owed its erection to monks, was placed under their immediate superintendence, and taught constantly by persons taken from the convent; and although its original foundation and subsequent endowments were highly

* See Note G.

calculated to foster superstition *, yet the reformed opinions obtained an earlier and more extensive reception in this college than in the rest of the university †. In the second place, this seminary had at first to struggle with great difficulties on account of the slenderness of its funds ; but by the vigilance of its patrons, and the diligence of those who had the charge of education, it not only surmounted these, but attained great celebrity. So many of the sons of the nobility and gentry came to study at St. Leonard's, that the name of the *College of Poor Clerks*, which the founder had originally given it, conveyed a very erroneous idea of those who resided within its walls ‡.

The defence and increase of the Catholic faith was one declared object of the erection of all the colleges. This is more particularly expressed in the deeds founding and providing for the College of St. Mary. It was erected "for defending and con-

* In 1525, John Archibald founded an altar in the College of Poor Students, to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, "for the salvation of John Hepburn, prior of the monastery and all the canons, also for the souls of Mr. Michael Livingston, former vicar of Wemis, and of Sir Robert Wallis, former archdeacon of St. Andrews ; also of the souls of his own father and his mother, and his spouse Margret Symson, and all his benefactors and friends."—The masters appear to have entertained notions of piety somewhat different from the above, when, in 1550, they ordained that the fines levied from absentees should, after growing to a round sum, be converted "in vinum, ad refocillandos conversantium animos, et in alios pios usus." (Papers of University.)

† Life of John Knox, vol. i. p. 31.

‡ Hovei Oratio. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 431.

firming the Catholic Faith, that the Christian religion might flourish, the word of God might be more abundantly sown in the hearts of the faithful, and to oppose the heresies and schisms of the pestiferous heretics and heresiarchs who, alas! have sprung up and flourished in these times, in this as well as in many other parts of the world *." Yet within a short time after this language was held, these "pestiferous heretics" prevailed against the Catholic faith, and obtained possession of the very places and funds which were destined for their suppression and extirpation. The protestant sentiments had for many years been secretly spreading in all the colleges of St. Andrews, and they were now embraced by the greater part of the professors, with perhaps the exception of those of St. Salvator's.

During the agitation of the religious controversy, the academical exercises were interrupted, and the number of students diminished. In the year 1559, the faculty of arts was under the necessity of superceding the public exhibitions usual at graduation †. Several of the masters in St. Salvator's, in-

* Donatio de Conveth, Jun. 26, 1550; et Donatio de Tarvet, Mart. 31, 1558.

† "Nonus Rectoratus Magri Joannis Douglasii præpositi novi collegii Mariani, 1558. Hoc anno propter tumultus religionis ergo exertos, paucissimi scholastici ad hanc universitatem venerunt." (Only three names of Incorporati are inserted.)—"Consiliis habitis 15 Maji aº 59 de promovendis discipulis statuit academia oēs laureādos hujus anni pro laureatis haberi, quod universa reip. perturbatone et religionis reformatione veteres ritus servare impediretur."

cluding William Cranston, the principal, adhered to the ancient religion, and left their places; but the greater part, if not the whole, of those belonging to the two other colleges, embraced the Reformation, and consequently retained their situations. John Douglas, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, was at this time principal of St. Mary's College *, and John Duncanson was principal of St. Leonard's †.

Every thing connected with the Roman Catholic faith and worship, which was interwoven with the laws and practice of the university and of the colleges belonging to it, was removed at the establishment of the Reformation. Other alterations were at the same time contemplated by the reformers, but various causes prevented them from being carried into effect. Accordingly, the mode of teaching, and the academical exercises, so far as related to philosophy or the arts, continued nearly on their former footing.

All the scholars who entered at one time into a

* Keith (Scottish Bishops, p. 25,) has confounded the Archbishop with a preacher named Douglas, who was chaplain to the Earl of Argyle in 1558. The description given of the latter will not answer to the former, who was provost of St. Mary's College from 1547, till his death in 1574, and was always resident in the university.

† Duncanson demitted in 1566. In a donation of books, and other valuable articles, subscribed by his own hand, he styles himself "umqle Maister principall of Sanctleonardis College,—and Mr. James Wilkye Principall regent and maister of the samyn in name of the College askit instrument." Wilkie appears to have considered the succession to the principality as his due, but it was conferred on Buchanan.

college, formed a class, which was put under the government of a regent, with whom they continued four years. The regents had not, like the professors, permanent situations in the college. It would appear, that originally every master of arts was bound to teach a class, and came under an engagement to this purpose at his laurea-tion. Afterwards it became customary to grant dispensations from this duty. When the number of graduated persons had increased, and it became in other respects an object of importance to obtain a regency, those who were desirous of it presented a petition to the faculty, in which they professed their knowledge of the text of Aristotle, and requested permission to explain it, or, in other words, to govern a class. They were ordinarily bound to continue until they had taught two classes; but at St. Andrews, the greater part of the regents retained their situations, to which the profits arising from altarages or chaplanries were attached, until they obtained a living in the church or an office in the state.

Though the regular time of the course was four years, it was usually finished in three years and a half. The session began on the first of October, and continued through the whole year, except the months of August and September, which were allowed as a vacation. The regent assembled his class three hours every day, and read and explained the books of Aristotle, which the students were bound to bring along with them. He began with

dialectics or logic, then proceeded to ethics, next to physics, and concluded with metaphysics, which was called *prima philosophia* or the highest branch of philosophy, and mathematics, which included arithmetic. During their course, the students were frequently employed in disputations and declamations, both privately in their class, and publicly before the college and the university. Besides seeing that the regents and students did their duty, the principal usually read public lectures on what were then reckoned the higher branches of philosophy, which were attended by all the students in the college, except those of the first year*.

In the middle of the third year of their course, such of the students as obtained an attestation of

* James Melville has left an account of the course of study followed by William Collace, who was his regent in St. Leonard's between 1570 and 1574. After stating that he began with teaching "Cassander's Rhetoric," he adds: "We hard the Oration pro rege Deitaro. Then he gaiff ws a compend of his awin of Filosopi and the partes y'of.—We enterit in the organ of Arist. yt year, and leirnit to the Demonstrations.—The secund yeir of my course we hard the Demonstrations, the Topiks, and the Sophist captiones. And the Primarius Mr. James Wilkie, a guid peacable sweet auld man wha luiffed me weill, taught the four species of the arithmetik and sum thing of the sphere.—The thrid yeir of our course we hard the fyve buiks of the Ethiks, wt the aught buiks of the Physiks, and de ortu et interitu. That yeir we had our Bachelor act according to the solemnities then vsed of Declamations, banqueting and playes.—The fourt and last yeir of our course, quhilk was the 17 yeir of my age outpast and 18 rinning, we learned the buiks de coelo and meteors, also the sphere more exactly teachit by our awin regent, and maid ws for our vices and blackstons, and had at Pace our promotion and finishing of our course." (Diary, pp. 22—24.)

regular attendance and good behaviour from their regent and the principal of their college, were admitted to enter on trials for the degree of bachelor. For this purpose the faculty chose every year three regents, one from each college, as examiners. In the presence of these the candidates *determined** a question, in logic or morals, in a continued discourse, and answered such questions as were proposed to them on any of the branches which they had studied under their respective regents. The examiners made their report to the faculty, when such as had given satisfaction were confirmed as bachelors by the Dean, and the rest were sent to a lower class.—The act of laureation at the end of the course was conducted in a similar manner. But on this occasion the candidates were examined on the whole circle of the arts, and bound to defend a thesis, which had been previously affixed to the gates of the different colleges. They were divided into circles, and their names arranged according to their merit, with a certain preference, however, to persons of rank †. And the degree of master of arts was solemnly conferred on them by the Chancellor of the university, *in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus*

* From this act they were called *Determinantes*.

† “Examinatos secundum scientiæ et morum eminentiam principaliter locent et ordinant. Ex præclara tamen domo paterna nobilitatem sanguinis trahentes, nec non cum Regentibus honeste et commensaliter viventes, modo in literis aliquantulum eruditi et moribus probi, nonnihil pensitantes.” (Statuta anni 1570.)

Sancti. The intermediate degree of licentiate of arts is recognised by the laws, but it was not separately conferred, at least in later times. Both at receiving the degree of bachelor and master, the graduates paid certain sums of money, according to their rank, to the purse of the university and of the faculty, to the dean, and to other officers ; and those who were poor obliged themselves to give what was due to the public funds as soon as they were in ability. By an old law, each student, including those who held bursaries, was bound to give to his regent annually, for three years, a Scots noble, which in later times was interpreted as answering to a pound Scots, “ *salva cujuscunque uberiore liberalitate* *.”

We cannot form such an exact judgment respecting the ancient mode of teaching theology, as the Reformation necessarily made a greater change on this department of instruction. Many of the ancient forms, however, were still retained and observed. There continued to be a theological faculty, consisting of the doctors, licentiates, and bache-

* Statuta 17 Mart. 1583. By the Statutes of 1561, the student was bound to give *thirty shillings*, “ unless he be poor.”

The designation *pauper* does not appear to have been always used in the same sense. In Feb. 1579, it was declared “ *Solos bursarios et mendicos pauperes esse censendos.*” But from other documents it appears that all the students of philosophy were divided into three classes ; “ *Primars or potentiores, Secundars or potentes, and tertiars or minus potentes, olim pauperes ;*” and the latter paid dues, although proportionally smaller than the two former.

lors of divinity, who resided within the university *. They assembled, along with the students of divinity, annually on the first of October, when a sermon or oration, intended to excite the hearers to diligence in sacred studies, was delivered. The masters and bachelors then met apart, and arranged the subjects on which each should read lectures during the year, and the times at which they should read them. The lectures were delivered on the Scriptures, which were divided into five parts; the Pentateuch or legal books, the historical books, the sapiential, the prophetical, and those of the New Testament †. “Formerly, under papacy, the students ascended to degrees in theology, by reading the Sentences of Peter Lombard; but now, since the reformation of religion and the burial of popery, this practice is altered and reformed.” From the beginning of July to the end of September there was an intermission of the lectures; and during this interval, the students were exercised once a week in theological disputations, at which one of the masters presided, and the rest were present and took a share in the debate. The disputants were

* Baron speaks of John Winram as dean of the faculty of theology about 1574. (MS. Orat. super Jac. Martinio.)

† The particular books included under each of these divisions are specified; and it is a curious circumstance, that most of the Apocryphal books are among them. Thus, among the historical books are, ‘duo Esdre, duo Tobie, Judith, quibus et duo Macabeorum libri adjungi possunt.’ Among the sapiential books we find “Librum Sapientiae et Ecclesiasticum;” and “Baruch” is enumerated along with the books of the prophets. (Statut. Theol. Reform. A. 1570.)

exhorted to avoid the altercation usually practised in the schools, "and not to bite and devour one another like dogs, but to behave as men desirous of mutual instruction, and as the servants of Christ, who ought not to strive but to be gentle to all."

The lectures were chiefly delivered by those who were proceeding in their theological degrees. Before entering on this duty, it behoved them to have been students of divinity for three years, to have sustained the part of a respondent twice in the public disputes during the vacancies, to have given proof of their talents twice in the weekly exercise, and to have preached once in the vulgar language before the people and in Latin before the university. After this, being admitted by the faculty, they taught for four years in the public schools, by expounding the Scriptures, according to the arrangement formerly mentioned. The probationary lecture which they delivered at the commencement of each part of the course, may be viewed as a specimen of the mode of teaching then practised. The lecturer began with pronouncing a panegyric on the books of Scripture which he proposed to expound; he next gave a summary of their contents; and, in the third place, having selected a particular passage, he started a question from it, stated the opinions held on the affirmative and negative sides, laid down certain propositions for clearing the truth, confirmed it by testimonies of Scripture, and solved the difficulties that might be urged against it. Before the students in the public schools, the lecturers were

bound to confine themselves to a single chapter at a time, and were directed to explain the text distinctly and methodically, by comparing it with other passages of Scripture, or by producing the judgment of the most approved and skilful interpreters, "provided nothing was brought forward that could not stand the test of Scripture."—It would seem that this was nearly the method which the professors followed in their theological lectures*.

When the student commenced lecturing on the legal books, he was declared by the faculty a *cursor* bachelor of divinity; on commencing the prophetic books, he became a *formed* bachelor; and, on entering on the books of the New Testament, he was pronounced a *confirmed* bachelor. On finishing his course of teaching, he proceeded to take his degrees of licentiate and doctor. The statutes describe at length the disputations which were maintained, and the ceremonies which were used on both these occasions†.

Such was the plan of study agreed upon by the theological professors about the time of the Reformation. But there is no good reason to think that it was reduced to practice; and though this had been the case, it has little claim to our commendation. The lectures read by young men who had studied divinity for so short a period as three years,

* Melville's Diary, p. 24.

† Statuta Fac. Theolog. olim condita, et jam abolito papismo et reformata religione, circa A. D. 1460, in parte mutata, et juxta normam verbi Dei in melius reformata.

must have been extremely jejune and superficial; and it does not appear that any effectual provision was made to secure their diligence in these exhibitions. Yet their lectures, such as they were, served as a pretext for the regular professors neglecting the duty of theological instruction. In these circumstances, we need not be surprised to find that the study of divinity in the university was nearly nominal, and that scholastic philosophy engrossed the attention of both masters and scholars*.

The First Book of Discipline proposed a plan for re-modelling the three universities, which contained the following arrangements for St. Andrews. The first college was to contain classes for dialectics, mathematics, natural philosophy, and medicine. In the second college, a lecturer on ethics, economics, and politics, and two lecturers on law, Roman and municipal, were to be established. And the third college was to be provided with two teachers of languages, one of Greek and another of Hebrew, and two teachers of divinity, the one of the Old and the other of the New Testament. None were to be graduated in their respective faculties unless they had attended the regular course, which, for students of philosophy, was three years, of law, four years, and of medicine and divinity, five years. This plan was unquestionably an improvement on the original constitution, according to which the three colleges were completely independent, and exactly the same

* Melville's Diary, p. 92.

branches were taught in each. And in other respects it was favourable to the advancement of literature and science. But it was not adopted. In vain did the authors recommend it to the nobility, along with a proposal to erect parochial schools, as contributing to "the most high advancement of the commonwealth." In vain they urged, "If God shall give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasures ye are able to amass for them, which, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion than help and comfort *." Prejudice is blind, and avarice deaf, to all considerations of public good ; but the plan will remain a lasting monument of the enlightened and patriotic views of its compilers.

In the year 1563, a petition was presented to the Queen and Lords of Articles, "in the name of all that within this realm are desirous that learning and letters flourish †," stating that the patrimony of some of the foundations in the colleges, particularly at St. Andrews, was wasted, and that several sciences, and especially those which were most necessary, the tongues and humanity, were very imperfectly taught

* First Book of Discipline: Art. *Of the Erection of Universities.*

† This petition continued to lie before the Parliament; and in 1567, and again in 1581, it was referred by them to the consideration of commissioners. It must, therefore, have contained proposals additional to those which were sanctioned by the act of 1579. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. pp. 30, 214.)

in them, to the great detriment of the whole lieges, their children and posterity ; and praying that measures should be taken to remedy these evils. In consequence of this representation, the parliament appointed a committee to visit the colleges, and to report their opinion as to the best mode of improving the state of education *. No report from the committee is on record ; but there has been preserved a plan for the colleges of St. Andrews, which appears to have been drawn up, in virtue of this appointment, by Buchanan, who was one of the commissioners. The arrangements which it proposes differ in detail from those of the First Book of Discipline, though they proceed on the same general principle. The first college was to be entirely confined to the teaching of languages, and regulated in a great measure as a grammar school †. The second, called the college of philosophy, was to have four regents in the arts, and a lecturer on medicine. The third, named the college of divinity, was most poorly provided for : it was only to have a principal, to be reader in Hebrew, and a lawyer ‡.

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 544.

† It seems to have been formed on the model of the college or school of Geneva. (*Les Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques de l'Eglise de Geneve: Item l'Ordre des Escoles*, pp. 83—87.)

‡ The plan is published in Dr. Irving's *Mem. of Buchanan*, App. No. iii. 2d edit. According to the old plan of teaching in universities, mathematics formed, rather preposterously, the last part of the course. The First Book of Discipline appointed them to be taught before physics. But Buchanan's plan reverts to the ancient arrange-

The author of this draught had his attention too exclusively directed to the cultivation of languages and humanity.

The civil war which raged between the adherents of the king and queen put a stop to these measures of academical reform, but no sooner was peace established than the design was resumed by the friends of literature. In April, 1576, the General Assembly appointed commissioners to visit and consider the state of the university of St. Andrews *; and in 1578, the parliament made a similar appointment as to all the universities in the kingdom †. Nothing having been done in consequence of this appointment, the General Assembly which met in July, 1579, presented a petition to the king and council, urging the necessity of a change on the university of St. Andrews; and nominated commissioners to co-operate in that business with such as the council might be pleased to appoint ‡. The council immediately appointed commissioners, to whom they gave ample powers. They were authorized to consider the foundations in the university, and not only to

ment—"the naturell philosophie, metaphisicks, and principis of mathematicks."

* Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 65.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 98. Melville was one of the commissioners nominated by Parliament to visit the University of St. Andrews. They were authorized to examine the foundations of the colleges, to reform what tended to superstition, to remove unqualified and plant qualified persons; but not to make alterations on the mode of teaching.

‡ Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 93.

remove superstition and displace unqualified persons, but also to change the form of study and the number of professors, to join or divide the faculties, to annex each faculty to such college as they thought most proper for it, and in general to establish such order in the university as should tend most to the glory of God, profit of the commonwealth, and good up-bringing of the youth in sciences needful for continuance of the true religion. The commissioners found, that all the colleges had departed from their original foundations, and that these foundations disagreed in many things with the true religion, and were far from "that perfection of teaching which this learned age craves;" and they agreed upon a new form of instruction to be observed in the university. This was laid before the ensuing meeting of parliament, by which it was ratified on the 11th of November, 1579. The following is an outline of the provisions made by the new establishment.

In the college of St. Salvator, a principal, and four ordinary professors or regents of humanity and philosophy, were established. The first regent was to teach the Greek Grammar, and to exercise the students in Latin composition during the first, and in Greek during the second half year. The second regent was to teach the principles of invention, disposition, and elocution; or, in other words, of rhetoric, in the shortest, easiest, and most accurate manner, with the practice of them in the best authors, Roman and Greek. The students of this

class were to spend an hour at least every day in composition, and during the last half year they were to declaim or pronounce an oration once every month, in Latin and Greek alternately. It was the duty of the third regent to teach the most profitable and needful parts of the logics of Aristotle, with his ethics and politics, all in Greek, and the offices of Cicero in Latin. The fourth regent was to teach so much of the physics as was needful, and the doctrine of the sphere. Each regent was to retain his own profession. On Sunday a lesson in the Greek New Testament was to be read in all the four classes. Professors of mathematics and law, who were to lecture on four days of every week, were also established in this college. The lectures on law were to be attended by all the advocates and writers in the commissary court; and none were to be admitted for the future to act as procurators before the lords or other judges, until they gave a specimen of their learning before the university, and produced a testimonial of their diligent attendance and the degree of their progress. The principal of St. Salvator's was to act as professor of medicine.—The same arrangements were made as to the College of St. Leonard; with this difference, that there were no classes for mathematics and law established in it; and the principal, instead of teaching medicine, was to explain the philosophy of Plato.—St. Mary's, or the New College, was appropriated entirely to the study of theology and the languages connected with it. The course of study in it was to be completed in four

years, under the tuition of five professors. The first professor was to teach the elements of Hebrew during six months, and of Chaldee and Syriac during the remainder of the first year. During the subsequent eighteen months, the students were to prosecute the study of these languages under the second professor, who was to explain the pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament critically, by comparing the original text with the Chaldee paraphrases, the Septuagint, and other ancient versions. The third professor was to explain the prophetic books of the Old Testament after the same manner, during the last eighteen months of the course. During the whole four years, the fourth professor was to explain the New Testament by comparing the original with the Syriac version. And the fifth professor, who was Principal of the College, was to lecture, during the same period, on the common places or system of divinity. All the students were bound to attend the lectures of three professors every day during the continuance of their theological course; by which it was expected that they would, "with meane diligence, become perfite theologians." Public disputations were to be held every week, declamations once a month, and at three periods during the course, a solemn examination was to take place, at which, "every learned man shall be free to dispute." Eight bursars of theology were to reside with the professors, and to be supported on the rents of the college. It was ordained, that after four years had elapsed from the date of this

new erection, none should be admitted ministers of the church who had not completed their course of theology, or who should not be found worthy and qualified to receive all their degrees in it after a "rigorous examination" by the faculty. The persons at present occupying the place of masters in the New College, were ordered to remove from it without delay *. From the "great variety at this present of learned in the knowledge of the tongues and other things needful," the parliamentary commissioners had selected such as they thought most qualified for teaching in the New College; and it was ordained, that, upon any future vacancy, the place should be filled by open comparative trial before the archbishop of St. Andrews, the conservator of the privileges of the university, the rector, deans of faculty, and theological professors. Vacancies in the two other colleges were to be supplied in a similar manner. As the youth had lost much time by long vacations, it was ordained, that for the future the classes should sit during the whole year, except the month of September †. Rules were laid down for preventing the revenues of the colleges from being wasted or diverted to improper uses. And at the end of every period of four years, a royal visitation of the university was to take place, to inquire into

* See Note H.

† So early as the days of Augustine, it appears that the month of September, as the season of the vintage, was allowed as a vacation in schools. (Valesiana, p. 65.)

the effects of this reformation, and to see that its regulations were observed *.

It would be affronting the learned reader to enter into a statement of the superiority of this plan of education to that which it was intended to supersede. It was the most liberal and enlightened plan of study which had yet been established, as far as I know, in any European university. In comparing it with modern institutions, great allowance must be made for the imperfect state in which many of the sciences were at that period. But even as to these we may observe an evident tendency to improvement in the new regulations. The "most profitable and needful parts" only of the Aristotelian logic and physics were to be taught; and the lectures on Platonic philosophy served as a counterpoise to the Peripatetic, which had hitherto possessed an exclusive and uncontrolled authority in the university. The method of study prescribed for the theological college was well calculated to realize the hopes expressed in the act. It appointed a greater number of teachers of the Old Testament than either was necessary or could easily be obtained; and one of them might have been employed with more advantage in reading lectures on Ecclesiastical History, according to an arrangement which was subsequently introduced. But the attention paid to the sacred languages, and especially to the oriental tongues, is entitled to the highest commendation, and shews

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. pp. 178—182.

that the authors of the plan had conceived correct ideas of the importance of this branch of literature for forming able and judicious interpreters of Scripture. Indeed, it proceeds upon the very principles which have since been laid down and recommended by the best writers on Biblical Interpretation. I would not, however, be understood as intimating that the benefits which actually resulted from this change on the university were proportioned to its merits. The wisest plans, and the most salutary enactments, will prove nugatory, if proper measures are not taken to carry them into execution, or even if they go much beyond the degree of illumination which the age has reached. There is reason to think that in the present instance this was the case to a certain extent. The new mode of study was very partially acted upon in the colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard ; nor was the act of parliament carried into effect as to the number of professors in the New College.

The reformation of the university of St. Andrews has, by mistake, been ascribed to Buchanan. This has arisen partly from confounding it with another scheme of academical instruction which he drew up at an earlier period *, and partly from his being one of the commissioners who subscribed the plan that was actually adopted. That he assisted in correcting it, and in procuring for it a parliamentary sanction, is highly probable. But there is no reason for supposing that the plan was of his construction. The course of his studies and the nature

* See above, p. 355.

of his acquirements did not qualify him for entering into the arrangements which are most minutely detailed in it. We have direct evidence that Melville had the principal hand in drawing it up*; and though this had been wanting, we should have been warranted in forming this opinion, from the striking resemblance that it bears to the mode of study previously introduced by him into the university of Glasgow†.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of students who attended the university at one time. In ordinary cases it does not appear that it exceeded two hundred, and it did not fall much short of that number, during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Fewer had attended it during the first half, and still fewer previously to that period.

An account of the university of Glasgow, and of the improvements made on it, has already been given in the narrative of what took place when Melville held the situation of principal there‡. The University and King's College of Aberdeen, founded by bishop Elphinston, at the close of the fifteenth century, provided for an extensive education§. But notwithstanding this, and although

* Melville's Diary, pp. 58, 64. † See above, vol. i. pp. 67—70.

‡ See vol. i. pp. 65—72.

§ Provision was made for four professors, consisting of a doctor of divinity, of canon law, of civil law, and of medicine; ten bachelors, who were to instruct fourteen bursars in philosophy, while they prosecuted their own studies under the doctors; and a teacher of humanity, whose office it was to initiate the young men into grammar before entering on their philosophical course. (Boethii Aberdeen. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxix. b.)

some of its early teachers excelled any that were to be found in the other academies, it seems never to have attracted many students *. This may be accounted for, partly at least, from its situation, and the comparatively rude state of the surrounding country. At the establishment of the Reformation, Anderson, the principal, and the greater part of the professors, adhered to the old religion, and being supported by the neighbouring noblemen, who were addicted to popery, kept their places for several years. When they were at last extruded, the college was found to be impoverished by the alienation of its revenues. In the year 1578, when great exertions were made in behalf of all the seminaries of education, means were used for restoring its dilapidated funds ; and at the same time a new plan of instruction was drawn up for it, similar to those introduced at Glasgow and St. Andrews †. The plan met with opposition from different quarters, and its formal ratification by the legislature was evaded, but it was introduced into the university and acted upon for a considerable period ‡.

To ascertain the state of learning in the country, it is necessary to attend to the inferior schools, in which the youth were prepared for entering the university ; and multitudes, who never proceeded that length, had access to the means of common

* Hector Boece (Boethius) the celebrated historian of Scotland, was the first principal, and John Vaus, author of a Latin grammar, was the first professor of humanity, at Aberdeen.

† Melville's Diary, p. 43.

‡ See Note I.

education. Long before the Reformation all the principal towns had grammar schools in which the Latin language was taught *. They had also "lecture schools," as they were called, in which children were instructed to read the vernacular language. Subsequently to the establishment of the Reformation, the means of education were extended to other parts of the country; and, where regular schools were not founded, the readers in churches generally supplied the deficiency, by teaching the youth to read the catechism and the Scriptures.

There was a grammar school in Glasgow at an early period of the fourteenth century. It depended immediately on the cathedral church, and the chancellor of the diocese had not only the appointment of the masters, but also the superintendence of whatever related to education in the city †. The grammar school continued to be a distinct establishment after the erection of the university, and considerable care appears to have been taken to supply it with good teachers. Thomas Jack, who resigned the charge of this institution when Melville came to Glasgow, was well qualified for the situation. This is evident from his *Onomasticon Poeticum*, containing an explanation of the proper names which occur in the writings of the ancient poets, composed

* Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 4. John Kerde gives a tenement of land to the grammar school of Dunbarton, 8 March, 1486. And the burgh of Dunbarton gives four marks from the common mill, "Dno Jhoi Kerde pbro Magistro Scolæ Grammaticalis eiusd." 20 Apr. 1486. (Charters of the Burgh.)

† See Note K.

in Latin verse, with the view of being committed to memory by the boys, and published by him at the recommendation of Buchanan and Melville. On leaving the school of Glasgow, Jack became minister of the neighbouring parish of Eastwood, but continued to maintain a close correspondence with the masters of the College, and particularly with Melville, of whose services to the literature of Scotland he entertained the highest idea *. He was succeeded in the school by a connexion of his own, Patrick Sharp, whose literary obligations to Melville have already been noticed.

The grammar school of Edinburgh was originally connected with the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, and the appointment of the teachers was transferred from the abbots to the magistrates of the city. William Robertson, who was head master of the school at the establishment of the Reformation, remained attached to the popish religion, and appears to have been in other respects very unqualified for the situation. The Town Council were anxious to have him removed, that they might place the seminary on a footing more worthy of the metropolis; but they were unable to accomplish this, owing partly to the support which Robertson received from the Queen, and partly to his having been provided to the place for life. In these circumstances they had recourse to a provisional arrangement; and in the year 1568, they entered into terms with Thomas Buchanan, a

* See under Note K.

nephew of the poet, who was then teaching as a regent at St. Andrews, in the College of St. Salvador, and engaged him to take the management of their school. Buchanan was well qualified for bringing the seminary into repute; but he remained only a short time in Edinburgh. Differences having arisen between him and the magistrates as to the terms of their agreement, he was induced to leave them in 1571, and to become master of the grammar school of Stirling, where his uncle was residing*. In consequence of his removal, the grammar school of Edinburgh fell back to its former state of insignificance. But the friends of learning in the city continued to urge its claims on the public; and a commodious house for teaching having been finished, in the year 1579, on the spot still occupied by the High School buildings, Robertson was soon after prevailed upon to retire on a pension, and a new and improved plan of education, to which we shall afterwards advert, was organized†.

John Rutherford was at this time the most celebrated master of scholastic philosophy in Scotland. He was a native of Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, and having gone to France, entered the College of

* G. Robertson, *Vita Roberti Rolloci*, A 3. Edin. 1599. Rolloci Comment. in Epist. ad Thessalon. Dedic. Epist. Melville's Diary, pp. 38, 91. James Melville calls Thomas Buchanan the *cousing* of George Buchanan; David Buchanan calls him his *brother-german*; (De Scriptoribus Scotis Illust. num. 61, MS. in Advocates Library;) but Robert Rollock, who had the best means of information, informs us that he was his *nephew*.—Mr. Thomas Duncansone was "school-master and reidar in Striveling," in 1563. (Keith's Hist. p. 531.)

† See Note L.

Guienne at Bourdeaux. There he prosecuted his studies under Nicolaus Gruchius *, equally distinguished for his knowledge of Roman Antiquities, and his skill in the Aristotelian Philosophy †. He appears to have accompanied his teacher, and his countryman Buchanan, on their literary expedition to Portugal, from which he came to the university of Paris ‡. His reputation reached archbishop Ha-

* Rhetorfortis, De Arte Disserendi, p. 10.

† Teissier, Eloges, ii. 435—437.

‡ Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 565. Dr. Irving is disposed to question this statement. (Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 70, 2d edit.) The silence of Buchanan, who, in his life, does not speak of any of his countrymen, except his own brother, accompanying him, certainly throws a degree of doubt over the subject; but still I am rather inclined to admit the testimony of Dempster. It is most probable that Rutherford studied under Gruchius before that professor went to Portugal; and in this case it is not unlikely that he should have been induced to accompany him. Dempster mentions, in a very particular manner, a work of Rutherford's, containing discourses which he had delivered at Coimbra: "*Præfationes solennes Parisiis et Conimbriz habitas, lib. i. Extant typis Wecheliani.*" And he seems to have been at pains to ascertain the circumstances of Rutherford's life, for we find him referring to the records of the University of Paris. "*Venit Lutetiam anno 1552. Acta nationis Germanicæ ad D. Cosm.*"—In the matriculation list of the University of St. Andrews for the year 1551 is found, "*Ex Collegio Mariano, Joannes Ruderfurd, natio. Brita.*" If this was the person afterwards principal of St. Salvator's, and if he began his studies in 1551, he could not have belonged to the Portuguese colony; but there is reason to think that they were different individuals.—There are two letters of Joannes Gelida to John Rutherford and Filibert Lodonet, (dated Decimo Cal. Nov. 1555, & Non. Febr. 1555,) inviting them to teach in the school of Bourdeaux. (Joan. Gelidæ Epist. et Carm. in Clar. Hispanorum Opuscula Select. et Rar. collecta a Fr. Cerdano et Rico Valentino, vol. i. pp. 151, 152. Madriti, 1781.) In the same collection, (i. 149,) is a letter of Gelida to George Buchanan, congratulating him on his safe return to France from Portugal: "*Burdigalæ, Idibus Novembris, 1552.*"

milton, who invited him home to occupy a chair in the College of St. Mary, which he had recently organized at St. Andrews *; and after teaching in it for some years as Professor of Humanity, Rutherford was translated to be Principal of St. Salvator's College in the same University. In such estimation was he held, that, soon after his admission into the University, he was raised to the honourable situation of Dean of the Faculty of Arts, although not qualified for holding it according to the strict import of the statutes †. He had embraced the reformed doctrines before their establishment in Scotland, and was declared qualified "for ministering and teaching" by the first General Assembly ‡. By the authority of a subsequent Assembly he was admitted minister of Cults, a parish in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, of which the principals of St. Salva-

* Hovei Oratio; MS. in Archiv. Univ. S. Andr. "Comādis me to agre w^t Maisteris Edward Henrison and Johne Ruderfurde to be Regents in his l. College: 12 Decembris, 1553." (Accompt of receipts and disbursements by the agent at Rome, for the Earl of Arran, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, &c. p. 320: MS. in possession of Thomas Thomson, Esq.)

† It was objected against his eligibility, that he was not in priest's orders, and that he was a regent, that is, (as I suppose,) that he was not a professor or permanent teacher—"primum q̄ nō fuit Sacerdos, secundum quod fuit regens, ut loquuntur, actu." This was in November, 1557. (Act. Fac. Art. S. Andr. ff. 18, b; 181, a.)—The first time he is mentioned in the records is as one of the electors of the Rector, in 1556, when he is designed, "Ex Britannia, Mr. Jo. Rutherford, philosophus doctissimus Collegii Mariani,"—and again, "philosophus eximius." He appears to have been translated to St. Salvator's in 1560.

‡ Keith's Hist. p. 522.

tor's were, by the foundation of that college, constituted rectors *. It was also part of his duty, as principal, to lecture on theology. But Rutherford was more celebrated as a philosopher than as a divine. Considered in the former character, his labours were unquestionably of benefit to the university and the nation. The publication of his treatise on the Art of Reasoning may be considered as marking a stage in the progress of philosophy in Scotland. It is formed, indeed, strictly upon Aristotelian principles, of which he was a great admirer; but still it differs widely from the systems which had long maintained an exclusive place in the schools. Treading in the steps of his master, De Grouchi, Rutherford rejected the errors into which the ancient commentators upon Aristotle had fallen, and discarded many of the frivolous questions which the modern dialecticians took so much delight in discussing. His work contains a perspicuous view of that branch of the Peripatetic philosophy of which it professes to treat. He had caught a portion of the classical spirit of the age; and the simplicity and comparative purity of his Latin style, exhibit a striking contrast to the barbarous and unintelligible jargon which had become hereditary in the tribe of schoolmen and sophists †. It appears from a curious document,

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 7.

† " *Commentariorvm de Arte Disserendi libri qvatvor Joanne Rectorforti Jedburgæo Scoto authore. Et nunc demum ab eodem diligenter recogniti et emendati. Edinburgi apud Henricum Charteris*

that Rutherford, like some other philosophers, did not always display his philosophy in the government of his temper. In consequence of complaints against him by his colleagues, a visitation of the College of St. Salvator took place in 1563, when it was found that the principal had shown himself "too hasty and impatient;" and he was admonished "not to let the sun go down upon his wrath, and to study to bridle his tongue and conduct himself with greater humanity and mildness *."

William Ramsay deserves to be mentioned among those who cultivated polite letters along with philosophy and divinity, and who, at the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, left the foreign academies of which they were members, that they might take the charge of public instruction in their native country †. He had been Rutherford's companion on the continent, and became his colleague at St. Andrews. Ramsay taught in St. Salvator's

1577. Cum Priuilegio Regali." 4to. Pp. 78. The author informs us that his work had been at first printed without his knowledge, and very incorrectly, from a manuscript furnished by one of his scholars. Pp. 3, 9.—His "Comment. in Libr. Arist. de arte Metrica, Edinb. 1557," mentioned by Mackenzie, I have not seen.

* Charter of Regress by Mr. John Douglas, Rector, &c. Sept. 15, 1563. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 439.

† I think it highly probable that he is the individual referred to in a letter of Obertus Gifanius. (Buchanani Epist. p. 7.) His name does not appear in the records of the University of St. Andrews from 1537, when he was made Master of Arts, till 1560, when he became a Professor; from which it is highly probable that he was abroad during the interval.

when Melville attended the University, but was dead before the latter returned to Scotland*.

In the year 1556, a pension was granted to Alexander Syme, to enable him to wait on the Queen Regent, and be her Reader in the Laws or other sciences, at Edinburgh or any other place that she might appoint†. But the teaching of Civil Law, properly speaking, commenced in Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation. Previously to that era the canons were the great object of study, and those who occasionally delivered lectures on civil law were generally, if not always, in priest's orders. It was by an innovation on the original constitution of St. Mary's College, similar to that which had been made on religious instruction, that William Skene was first authorized to teach as a civilian at St. Andrews, and to substitute the Institutes and Pandects in the room of the Sacred Canons and Decretals.

Though less known than his brother, the clerk

* Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 564; where a book concerning the Portugueze is ascribed to Ramsay. On the 17th of January, 1558, a yearly pension of £100 was given to "Mr. Will^me Ramsay." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxix. fol. 67.) In 1564, the General Assembly appointed a committee to examine Mr. William Ramsay's Answer to Bullinger's book on the habits of Preachers. Keith, 568. Ramsay was minister of Kemback, a church held by the second master of St. Salvator's College. In consequence of a dispute in which he was involved, which came before the General Assembly, he obtained a testimonial from the kirk session of St. Andrews, June 21, 1570, and died in the course of that year. (Record of Kirk Session. Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 49, 50. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 379.)

† See Note M.

register, and though not eminent for talents, William Skene deserves to be remembered for his private worth, and his usefulness as a teacher and a judge. He appears to have studied, and to have taken the degree of licentiate *utriusque juris*, in a foreign university; and upon his return to his native country was made canonist in St. Mary's College *. After the Reformation, he explained Cicero's treatise on Laws and the Institutes of Justinian; and as this was the only class of the kind in the University, such of the students of the other colleges as chose were at liberty to attend his lectures. He gained the affection of his scholars by the condescending manner in which he explained to them in private what he had taught in the class, and shewed them the practice of law in the Commissary Court, of which he was the chief judge †. John Skene taught

* Among the "Noia Incomp. 1556, in Novo Collegio," the first name is "Mag^r Gulielmus Skene in utroque jure licentiatus." (Liber Rectoris Univ. S. Andr.) This entry shews that he had not studied at St. Andrews; nor do I think that any of the Scottish Universities were at that period in the habit of conferring degrees in law. On the 31st of March, 1558, the right to the church of Tarvet was conveyed to St. Mary's College, by putting the archbishop's signet "digito discreti viri Mag^ri Willielmi Skeyne, juris licentiati, et ejusdem Collegii Canonistæ," as procurator for his colleagues. (Papers of St. Mary's College.) In the Rector's Book, he is repeatedly said to be "ex Angusia." He was Conservator of the Privileges of the University, and elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Nov. 3, 1565. (Act. Fac. Art.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 24. Sir John Skene frequently refers to a book of his brother William, most probably in manuscript. (De Verborum Significatione, sig. I 4, K 2, O 3.) In an inventory of the books and papers of Mr. William Skene, Commissary of St. An-

for some years, as a regent, in the same college with his brother*.

Edward Henryson was a man of greater talents and learning than Skene. He received the degree of doctor of laws from the University of Bourges in France, where he studied under Eguinar Baro, one of the first civilians who had recourse to the pure sources of ancient jurisprudence, and who blended polite literature with the pursuits of their immediate profession. Having finished his studies, Henryson resided for some time with Ulrich Fugger, and enjoyed a pension from that munificent patron of learned men. Both at that time, and afterwards while he read lectures on law at Bourges, he published several works which made his name known in the learned world. By his translations from the Greek he co-

draws, taken Dec. 11, 1583, after his decease, by an order of the Lords of Session, the following articles occur: "Certane wreittis upon the lawis wreittin and penit be ye Commissar:"—"Maister William Skeynis prottocol w^t certane shrowles and wyeris vreittis lyand lowse w^tin ye same." (Papers of St. Salvator's Collège.) The titles of the books in this list have been very imperfectly and incorrectly taken.—Sir John also refers to a book of his brother Alexander, an advocate. (De Verb. Signif. I 4. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 105.) Alexander Skene signs a deed, as Notary Public, at Paris, Sept. 13, 1552. (Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 74.) In 1561, "Maister Alex. Skyne advocate," was warded by the magistrates of Edinburgh for attending mass, but "at ye desyre and request of Maister William Skene," was set at libertie on certain conditions. (Register of Town Council, vol. iv. f. 9, a; 10, b.)

* His name appears as a regent in the years 1564 and 1565. (Lib. Rect. et Fac. Art.) This must have been previous to his travelling on the continent, which he mentions repeatedly in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*.

operated with some of the most enlightened men of that age in diffusing polite letters. And his law tracts are allowed to be not unworthy of the distinguished school in which he received his education. Upon his return to Scotland, at the establishment of the Reformation, he was appointed one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, and justified the character he had gained abroad by the uniform encouragement which he gave to literature in his native country *.

Of the state of theological learning we shall speak more particularly in the next chapter. But it is proper to give an account in this place of some individuals who joined the study of polite letters with that of theology. One of the most distinguished of these, in point of talents and station, was Alexander Arbuthnot. He was descended of an ancient family in the shire of Kincardine†, and after finishing his philosophical course, and teaching for some time in the University of St. Andrews, went to France, and prosecuted his studies under Cujas. Being declared licentiate of laws, he came home in 1566, with the view of following that profession, but was induced to devote himself to the service of the church. In 1568, he was made prin-

* See Note N.

† He was not the son, as Mackenzie erroneously states, (*Lives*, iii. p. 186,) but the grandson of the baron of Arbuthnot. His father was Andrew Arbuthnot of Futhes, fourth son of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that ilk. (*Nisbet's Heraldry*, vol. ii. App. p. 84. 2nd edit.)

cial of the University of Aberdeen. Writers of every party speak in high terms of the talents and virtues of Arbuthnot. He was skilled in mathematics and medicine as well as in law and theology. Though decided in his religious and political creed, the uprightness of his character and the amiableness of his manners disarmed the resentment of his opponents, and procured him their respect and esteem *. Few individuals could have maintained themselves in the situation in which he was placed. When he went to Aberdeen, the greater part of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood were strongly addicted to the popish religion, and his predecessor, from hostility to the protestant establishment, had reduced the university to absolute poverty. In these circumstances he had to struggle with the greatest difficulties, especially during the civil war, when the government was destitute of authority in the north, and the interests of learning were forgotten. To this he feelingly alludes in one of his poems :

I wald travel, and ydlenes I hait,
 Gif I culd find sum gude vocation.
 But all for nocht: in vain lang may I wait
 Or I get honest occupation.
 Letters are lichtliet in our nation;
 For lernying now is nother lyf nor rent:
 Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament †.

In the latter part of the fifteenth, and first half of

* Spotswood's History, p. 335. Wodrow's Life of Alexander Arbuthnot: MSS. vol. i.

† Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems, vol. i. p. 155.

the sixteenth century, Scottish poetry had been much cultivated; and Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay, had attained great excellence in it, considering the rude state in which they found their native language. But this species of composition had fallen into neglect. It has been alleged that the reformers discouraged it, or that the confusions in which the country was involved by the Reformation banished the study of poetry. The former allegation is evidently unfounded, and the latter accounts for the fact but partially. The chief reason is to be found in the new direction which had been given to literary pursuits in consequence of the great numbers of our countrymen who studied abroad, and acquired that taste for Latin poetry which had become so general in all parts of the continent. From the time that Buchanan returned to Scotland, his learned countrymen were ambitious of paying their court to the muse in the language of ancient Rome, while they left their native tongue to be used by writers of inferior talents and education. Alexander Arbuthnot did not, however, follow their example in this respect. His poems were all composed in the Scottish language. Had he cultivated this species of composition, he possessed talents for it which would have attracted notice. But he indulged in poetry merely as an elegant amusement, by which he relieved his mind, when fatigued by the laborious duties of his office, or harassed with cares and disappointments. And he appears to have been cautious of detracting

from the grave character of the professor, by associating it with one of a less dignified description.

In poetrie I preis to pas the tyme,
 When cairfull thochts with sorrow sailyes me :
 Bot gif I mell with meeter or with ryme,
 With rascal rymours I shall rakint be *.

Though his genius could sport in the gayer and more sprightly scenes of fancy, Arbuthnot confined himself chiefly to productions of a thoughtful and serious cast ; and in some of these we perceive a very pleasing air of moral melancholy diffused over great goodness of heart †.

* Pinkerton, *ut supra*.

† The following lines from one of his unpublished poems, though not distinguished in other respects, may be given as a specimen of this quality, in addition to his poem on the *Miseries of a poor scholar*, which is already printed. *The Faingyet falsel and unthankfulness of a friend* gave occasion to them :

The simple wit and scharpnes of Ingyn,
 Quhilk quhillome wes, now quyt is tain away ;
 The steiring spirit quhilk poets call devyn
 Into my febill breist I find decay :
 I neither courage haive to sing nor say,
 Quhen I behald this warldis wickednes ;
 And quhen I find I am so far thame fray
 Quha was my onlie comfort and gleidnes.

My fais fall, and friendis gude succes,
 Sumtym my pen wes bissie to indyte :
 Of nobill men the valiant prowes
 Somtym my courage yairnit for to wreit :
 The laud, honour, and the praises great
 Of thame sumtym I wissed till advance

The only work which Alexander Arbuthnot is known to have published, is a treatise on the origin and dignity of Law. It probably consisted of academical orations or theses ; but the only authentic information we have concerning it is contained in the encomiastic verses of Thomas Maitland *.

Next to Arbuthnot, and resembling him in many points, was Thomas Smeton. When he had finished his academical education, and was teaching as a regent in the college of St. Salvator, the controversy about religion was warmly agitated at St. Andrews ; and so zealous was he in favour of the old system, that leaving the university and his native country, he retired to France, at the triumph of the Reformation. He continued for some time an eager though candid champion of the Roman Catholic faith ; but at last, in consequence of conversations which he held with Melville, Thomas Maitland, Gilbert Moncrieff, and others of his countrymen whom he met with at Paris, disagreeable doubts arose

Quhom now of neid my hairt has in despyt,
And quhom I wyt of this wanhappie chance.

Then, mistress, luik na mair for onie fruit,
Or ony wark to com of my Ingyne ;
For now I nather cair for fame nor bruit :
I haive sa tint that I na mair can tyne.

(Maitland MS.)

* "Alexandri Arbuthnæi Orationibus de origine et dignitate juris præfixa : " Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 153. Mackenzie (Lives, iii. 194,) says that the *Orationes* were printed at Edinburgh in 1572.

in his mind as to the religion in which he had been educated. He did not, however, give way to these, but attaching himself to the society of the Jesuits, the most zealous and able defenders of the church of Rome, he resolved to examine the subjects in dispute deliberately, and, if he found his doubts remain at the end of his period of probation, to decline the vow, and act according to his convictions *. With the view of obtaining the fullest information, he undertook a journey to Italy, and, passing through Geneva, conferred with Melville, who wished him success in his great object, though he could not approve of his measures. During eighteen months that he spent in Rome, under the tuition of the Jesuits in that city, he had frequent opportunities of visiting the prisons of the Inquisition, and of conversing with the persons confined for heresy. His conversation on these occasions excited the suspicions of his vigilant guardians, and he was remitted to Paris through the different colleges that were on the road. On his return to the French capital, he candidly disclosed his mind to his countryman Edmund Hay *, from whom he had already experienced much kindness. The discovery of his attachment to the reformed tenets grieved Hay, who had formed great expectations from Smeton's talents,

* Dempster says that Smeton taught Humanity at Paris (in the University), and afterward in the College of Clermont, with great applause. (*Hist. Eccl. Scot.* p. 586.)

* See above, vol. i. p. 26.

but it did not induce him to withdraw his friendship. After several unsuccessful attempts to recover him from his errors, the good father warned Smeton of the danger to which he would expose himself by avowing his sentiments in France, and gave him his best advice; which was, to return home, to marry, to read the fathers and doctors of the church, and not to give ear to the ministers. It is gratifying to meet with such an honourable exception to the bigotry and violence which then reigned in France, and by which many of our countrymen who had taken up their residence in it were deeply infected. It is also a pleasing circumstance, that this piece of information has come to us from the grateful pen of Smeton, who, not satisfied with relating the facts to his acquaintance, publicly acknowledged the kindness with which he had been treated by this mild and affectionate Jesuit*. The neglect of one part of Hay's advice had nearly cost Smeton his life, which was saved, during the Bartholomew massacre, by his taking refuge in the house of Walsingham, the English ambassador, whom he accompanied to London.

* "Vera hæc esse testabitur Edmundus Haius, Laiolanæ in Gallia sectæ præfectus. Quem cum non paucis ingenii dotibus ornarit qui omnia in omnibus pro arbitrio operatur, vtinam vera etiam dignetur Evangelii sui cognitione. Hoc illi et aliis omnibus ex animo precor: sed illi imprimis, ob plurima priuatim officia ab illius in me humanitate, cum dubius fluctuarem, profecta: Quæ, vt referendæ gratiæ facultas desit, gratissima certe memoria colam." (Smetoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, p. 16.)

After teaching a school for some time at Colchester in Essex, he returned, in the year 1577, to his native country, and accepted of the church of Paisley, chiefly for the sake of enjoying Melville's society *.

At Melville's recommendation, Smeton undertook to answer the virulent dialogue lately published by Archibald Hamilton; a task which he executed with much ability †. He was well acquainted with the writings of the ancients, and with the mode of controversial warfare which the defenders of the church of Rome, and especially the Jesuits, had lately adopted. Being privy to their designs against Scotland, he excited the ministers to vigilance, gave directions to the young men how to conduct their studies, and dissuaded the nobility and gentry from sending their sons to those foreign seminaries, in which their minds would be in the greatest hazard of being corrupted. That they might be under the less temptation to this, he zealously concurred with Melville in his plan for re-modelling the Colleges at St. Andrews, of which we have already had

* To avail themselves as far as possible of his services, the University of Glasgow, in 1578, chose Smeton Dean of Faculty. (Acta Univ. Glasg.)

† Dr. Edward Bulkely, in a letter to Buchanan, dated Chester, 28th Nov. 1580, says: "*Legi Smythonii librum adversus Hamiltonum Apostatam. Vestre Scotiæ, nunc vera Christi cognitione ac literis illustratæ, gratulor quod tales præstantes assertores habeat.*" (Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 31, edit. Ruddim.) Dempster describes this work as "*opus verborum ornatu non inelegans, sed doctrina vacuum.*" (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 586.) He ascribes to Smeton, "*Epitaphium Metellani, lib. i.*" (Ibid.)

occasion to speak *. Smeton was well acquainted with the learned languages, wrote Latin with great purity, and had not, like many of his countrymen who had been abroad, neglected his native tongue, in which he composed with great propriety †. In private life he was distinguished for his retired and temperate habits; encroaching upon the hours usually devoted to diet and sleep, that he might devote more time to his studies. Yet his temper was sweet, and his manners affable and remote from every thing like rusticity or moroseness. His premature death, soon after he succeeded Melville as principal of the university of Glasgow, was an unspeakable loss to that seminary.

* Smetoni Respons. ad Dialog. Hamiltonii; Prefat. et pp. 15, 16. Melville's Diary, pp. 55—58. Spotswood, p. 336. James Melville, whom I have chiefly followed, received the particulars which he records from Smeton's own mouth. His account varies from that of Spotswood in some minute particulars. He does not speak of Thomas Maitland's accompanying him to Italy.

† James Melville says, that Smeton was usually employed by his brethren in drawing up important papers, as he "excellit baith in language and form of letter." (Diary, p. 58.) Besides the answer to Hamilton, Smeton was concerned in another work, of which the only account I can give is contained in the following extracts. "Ane method of preaching to be printed and put in Scots be Mr. Tho^s Smetoun." (Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 112, a.) April 1581. "Anent the printing the method of preaching and prophesieing set out be
and shewed and read in the Assembly,
the Assemblie hath thought meet that the samine may be committit to Irons, and printed as necessary for the forme of teaching, and to be put in Scottish be their brother Mr. Thomas Smetone." (Cald. iii. 43.)—The author's name does not appear.—"Hyperius de formandis concionibus" was printed at Basil in 1563. "Hyperius Practice of Preaching," translated into English by Ludham, was printed in 1577.

Another individual who makes a prominent figure in the history of the period is Patrick Adamson, known at first by the name of Constyne or Constantine. He had received his elementary education under his brother-in-law, Andrew Simson, and, having finished his philosophical course at St. Andrews, in the College of St. Mary, taught for some years in it, most probably as grammarian. After the establishment of the Reformation, he became minister of Ceres, a parish in the vicinity of St. Andrews. This charge he left to accompany the eldest son of Sir James Mackgill, Clerk-Register, on his travels to France; and during his residence in that country he applied himself to the study of law at the university of Bourges. Upon his return to Scotland, in the year 1570, he fluctuated as to the profession which he should choose. Declining the office of principal of St. Leonard's College, which Buchanan had demitted in his favour*, he began to practise at the bar; and relinquishing this employment he resumed his former vocation as a preacher. He officiated some years as minister of Paisley, from which he removed to become chaplain to the Regent, who promoted him to the archiepiscopal see of St. Andrews†. Before his advancement to the primacy in 1576, Adamson had given proofs of his talents by the publication of several works. They consist chiefly of Latin poems. Though inferior to

* Ruddimanni Prefat. in Oper. Buchanani.

† See Note O.

Melville in erudition and in vivacity of genius, he was nevertheless a polite scholar, an elegant poet, and a most persuasive and attracting preacher. But he was inordinately ambitious, and not over-scrupulous as to the measures which he employed for gratifying his ruling passion; by which means he tarnished his reputation, and defeated the influence of the great abilities which he unquestionably possessed.

Though Thomas Maitland had died before Melville returned to Scotland, yet he deserves to be mentioned here as one of his class-fellows at college, and as the intimate friend of Arbuthnot and Smeton. He belonged to a family, all the members of which, not excepting the females, were addicted to literary pursuits *. His father, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, one of the Lords of Session, is well known as a writer of Scottish poetry; and both his brothers, William and John †, were distinguished for their elegant taste as well as the political eminence to which they rose. Thomas Maitland had given various proofs of his poetical talents before his premature death. If they do not display a vigorous imagination, his poems at least evince great command of the Latin language, and are written with ease and spirit ‡. His political conduct partook in

* Pinkerton's Scottish Poems, Introd.

† John Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, was successively Lord Privy Seal, Secretary of State, and Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

‡ He appears to have written a treatise on undertaking war against the Turks. (*Delitiæ Poet. Scot.* tom. ii. p. 171.)

a considerable degree of that versatility by which his elder brother's was characterized. After eulogizing the character and administration of the Regent Murray, he insulted over his fall *. Maitland is better known from Buchanan's having made him his interlocutor in his dialogue on the Law of the Scottish Monarchy, than from his own poems. When he joined the party who sought to restore Queen Mary, Maitland disclaimed the principles contained in that treatise, and insisted that the author had no other reason for coupling his name with them than his own fancy †. Buchanan did not wish to insinuate that the conversation which he describes was actually held, but he certainly meant it to be understood that the sentiments which he puts into the mouth of his interlocutor were entertained by Maitland. And it was vain for the latter to deny this, seeing he had recommended in verse

* Comp. *Delitiæ Poet. Scot.* tom. ii. p. 163, with *Life of Knox*, vol. ii. p. 175.

† Innes's *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 359. Buchanan's Dialogue was not published for several years after the death of Maitland; but there is reason to think, as Innes says, that copies of it were handed about as early as 1570.—There is in the College Library of Edinburgh a MS. (the gift of William Drummond of Hathornden) entitled, "*Thomæ Metelani ad Serenissimam principem Elizabetham Anglorum Reginam Epistola.*" It consists of 41 pages 4to.; and is properly a discourse or oration, composed in a very rhetorical style, urging the propriety of setting Queen Mary at liberty, and restoring her to her dominions. There is no date to it, but from internal evidence it appears to have been written in the year 1570 or 1571. It bears every mark of having been intended for publication.

the most obnoxious of the tenets which the writer of the dialogue inculcates in prose. In his poem on the coronation of James VI. he holds up arbitrary government to reprobation, and celebrates the resistance made by the people to tyrants. Having given examples of this from ancient history, and shown

How Rome, impatient, spurned proud Tarquin's yoke,
How ages after Brutus' spirit woke,
And hurled at Cæsar's breast the patriot stroke ;

Maitland comes to Scotland, places before the eyes of the young king the fate of such of his ancestors as had arrogated a power superior to the laws, and describes the sudden and overwhelming resistance which his impetuous countrymen were wont to oppose to encroachments on their rights, in language which no courtly poet, however chivalrous his ideas, would dare to employ, and which proves that he was then no believer in the divine right and sacred inviolability of despots *.

* *Gens inclyta Scotæ*

Progenies, quæ sponte sua tibi jura ferenti
Obsequitur, consueta bonos defendere reges
Oppositu laterum, nullis cessura periclis,
Dum sancto regis depellat corpore ferrum :
Illa eadem, si quando ferox, sitiensque cruoris
Exurgat, fortem trepida cum plebe Senatum
Qui vincere velit, patriæque infringere leges :
Non tolerat. sed fama volat, subitoque tumultu
Accensi heroes virtusque armata popelli
Sceptra rapit, mox dejectum de sede tyrannum,
Nunc morte horrida, sævo nunc carcere frænâ.

(*Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. ii. p. 162.)

John Davidson, who was Melville's predecessor at Glasgow, was a clergyman before the Reformation, and had studied at Paris along with Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. Having returned to Scotland, he was placed in 1557, at the head of the College of Glasgow. When the controversy concerning religion first arose, Davidson adhered to the established church, but he afterwards changed his views and joined the reformers. His answer to Kennedy shews him to have been a modest and candid man, although not possessed of great learning. He testifies much respect for his old college companion, notwithstanding the diversity of their sentiments, and acknowledges the kindness with which he had formerly been treated by Archbishop Beaton*.

We have repeatedly had occasion to speak of John Davidson, who was minister at Libberton, and afterwards at Prestonpans. But it may be proper to take notice here of two curious poems composed by him, which throw considerable light on the manners and transactions of his time. The Regent Morton, with the view of securing for the use of the court a larger proportion of the thirds of benefices, had obtained, in 1573, an order of the Privy Council for uniting two, three, and even four parishes, and putting them under the care of one minister. As pluralities had always been condemned by the reformed ministers, and considered as one of

* See Note P.

the worst abuses in the popish church, this act excited great dissatisfaction. John Davidson, who was then a regent in St. Leonard's College *, and a young man of great zeal, expressed the general sentiment in a metrical dialogue, in which he exposed the evil of the practice, and taxed, in terms more homely than pleasant, the motives in which it evidently originated. His poem was printed without his knowledge, upon which he was summoned to a justice-air at Haddington, and sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him. He was liberated upon bail, in the hopes that he might be prevailed upon to retract what he had written, or that the General Assembly might be induced to condemn it. A number of his colleagues in the University, who were desirous of pleasing the court, shewed themselves unfavourable to him ; Rutherford, the principal of St. Salvator's College, who imagined that he was disrespectfully alluded to in the dialogue, had written an answer to it † ; and the greater part of

* He is the author of the poem in *Commendatioun of Uprichtnes*, republished in the *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii. Supplement.

† " The Moderator enjoyned them silence, and desired Mr John Rutherford yet again to produce his book ; but he yet still refused, and said, ' that Mr John (Davidson) had called him *crused goose* in his book, that he had little Latin in his book, and that was false,' with many other brawling words.—Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot said, you take that to you which no man speaks against you." (Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 439.)

The following is the passage in the poem which gave offence to Rutherford :

Thair is sum Collages we ken,
Weill foundit to uphald learnit men :

2 C 3

the Assembly were so much afraid of the Regent's resentment, that, although they were of the same sentiments with Davidson, they declined approving of his book, and left him to the vengeance of his powerful prosecutor. Interest was made in his behalf by some of the principal gentlemen in the country, but Morton was inflexible; and finding that nothing short of recantation would save him from punishment, Davidson, after lurking for a while in the west of Scotland, retired into England, from which he was not permitted to return during the life-time of the Regent*. Lekprevick, the printer of the poem, was also prosecuted, and confined for some time in the Castle of Edinburgh †.

The prosecution of Davidson does little honour to the administration of Morton. There is nothing in the book which could give ground of offence or alarm to any good government. It is a temperate discussion of a measure which was at least contro-

Amang the rest foundit we se
 The teiching of theologie.
 Lat anis the Counsell send and se,
 Gif thir places weill gydit be;
 And not abusit with waist rudis,
 That dois nathing bot spendis yai gudis
 That was maid for that haly use,
 And not to feil ane *crusit guse*.

* During his exile Davidson visited the continent. (Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 248.)

† Proceedings against Davidson and Lekprevick, in Record of Privy Council. Lekprevick's summons is inserted in Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 442. The prosecution was founded on the act of parliament 1551, "against blasphemous rymes or tragedies."

vertible. The reasons urged in its support are candidly and fairly stated, and they are examined and refuted in a fair and dispassionate manner. The evils which the act of council was calculated to produce are indeed exposed with faithfulness and spirit ; but without any thing disrespectful to authority, or tending in the slightest degree to excite “ sedition and uproar.”

In a literary point of view, the merits of the Dialogue are far from contemptible. It is superior to most of the fugitive pieces of the time. Without pretensions to fine poetry, the versification is easy and smooth, and the conversation is carried on in a very natural and spirited manner. The introduction to the poem may amuse such readers as are wearied with the dryness of some of the preceding details :

Unto Dundie as I maid way,
Nocht lang afoir Sanctandrois day,
At Kinghorne ferrie passand our
Into ye Boit was thre or four
Of gentill men, as did appeir.
I said, Schirs, is thair ony heir
Quhais Jornay lye unto Dundie?
Twa of thame answerit courtaslie,
We purpose nocht for to ga thidder,
Bot yit our gait will ly togidder
Quhill * we be passit Kennewie.
Than I sall beir yow companie,
Said I ; and with that we did land,
Syne lap upon our horse fra hand,

* Until.

And on our Jorney rudelie raid.
 Thir twa unto Sanctandris maid :
 The tane of thame appearit to be
 Ane cunning Clerk of greit clergie,
 Of visage graue and manneris sage,
 His tongue weill taucht, but * all outrage,
 Men nicht haue kend that he had bene
 Quhair gude Instructioun he had sene.
 The uther did appeir to me
 Ane cumlie Courteour to be,
 Quha was perfyte and weill besene
 In thingis that to this land pertene.
 Be † we had riddin half ane myle,
 With myrrie mowis passing the quhyle,
 Thir twa of quhome befor I spak
 Of sindrie purposis did crak,
 And enterit in amang the rest
 To speik how that the kirk was drest.

And this began the Courteour :
 Quhat think ye of this new ordour ?
 Ye that ar Clerkis and men of wit,
 I wat weill ye will speik of it
 Amangis your selfis quhen ye conuene :
 I pray you tell me quhat ye mene,
 And gif this ordour ye allow,
 Or alwayis how it plesis yow.

The Clerk said ; Sir, the treuth to tell,
 With Princes maters for to mell
 I think it lyis nocht in our gait :
 Lat Courteouris of sic thingis trait.

The Courteour maid answering :
 Yit men will speik, Sir, of the king ;
 Bot this new ordour that is tane
 Wes nocht maid be the Court allane :
 The Kirkis Commissionars wes thare,
 And did aggrie to lea and mair.
 Yit men may speik as they haue feill,
 Quhidder it lykis thame euill or weill.

* Without.

† Before.

The Clerk said: haue thay condescendit,
 I think our speiking can nocht mend it;
 Bot ane thing I dar tak on me,
 Gif as ye say the mater be
 That thay of Kirk thairto assentit,
 Thay sal be first that sall repent it;
 Thocht for thair tyme sum wylie wynkit,
 The ages after will forthink it.

The poem concludes with the following lines, which shew that the author was by no means pleased with the conduct of the greater part of the ministers of the church :

Forsuith, Schir (said the Courteour)
 I am assurit had ilk Preichour
 Unto the mater bene als frak
 As ye haue bene heir sen ye spak,
 It had not cum to sic ane heid
 As this day we se it proceid.
 Bot I can se few men amang thame,
 Thocht all the warld suld clene ouirgang thame,
 That hes ane face to speik agane
 Sic as the Kirk of Christ prophane.
 Had gude John Knox not yit bene deid,
 It had not cum unto this heid:
 Had thay myntit till sic ane steir,
 He had maid heuin and eirth to heir *.

* There is a copy of this rare poem in the Advocates Library. It is complete, with the exception of the title-page, which is much wasted. The following title is made up from that copy and other documents.

“ Ane Dialog or [Mu]tuall ta[lking] betwix a [clerk] and [ane cour]teour, Concerning [four kirks] till ane Minister, C[ollectit

Davidson also composed at this time a poem to the memory of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, a gentleman who had distinguished himself by his early attachment to the reformed religion, and his disinterested and invariable friendship for our national Reformer. Campbell died while actively employed in screening Davidson from the effects of persecution; and the latter has gratefully commemorated the virtues of his protector. This poem is inferior to the former in point of composition; but it preserves a number of curious and interesting facts relating to the history of those times *.

out of thair] mouthis, and put [in verse by a] young man qu[ha
did] forgather w[ith thame] in his Jor[nay, aa] efter foll[owis.]”

The book is printed in black letter, and consists of 16 leaves in 12mo. It has no imprint, but we learn from the summons to Robert Lekpreuk, that it was printed by him in January, 1573; i. e. 1574, according to modern reckoning. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 442.)

* See Note Q.

CHAPTER XII.

STATE OF LITERATURE IN SCOTLAND WHEN MELVILLE WAS REMOVED FROM HIS SITUATION AT ST. ANDREWS. ANNO 1611.

ERECTION of New Universities and Colleges—Resort of Foreign Students to Scotland—Literary Labours of Scotchmen in Dublin—Parochial Schools and Grammatical Education in Scotland—Hercules Rollock—Alexander Hume—Ramean Philosophy—Theology and Collateral Branches of Study—Principal Rollock—Bruce—Pont—The Simsons—Cowper—Civil and Scots Law—John Skene—Craig—Welwood—Other Studies—Napier of Merchiston—Hume of Godscroft—Vernacular Poetry—Extent to which Latin Poetry was Cultivated—Advantages and Disadvantages of this—General Estimate of the Progress of Learning and of the Influence which Melville had in Promoting it.

IN tracing the progress of literature in this country during Melville's residence at St. Andrews, the first thing which claims our notice is the additions made to the number of our universities.

We have seen that the early institutions for promoting literature were generally attached to cathedral churches or monasteries. The universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen having been founded by bishops, it was natural for their founders to erect them in the chief cities of their respective sees. Edinburgh was not an episcopal seat, and, consequently, was unprovided with a university or great school ; although it had long been considered as the capital of the kingdom. As soon as the Reformation was established, the magistrates, in concert with the ministers of the capital, attempted to have this defect supplied * ; but their endeavours were thwarted by the bishops, who were jealous of the reputation and prosperity of the seminaries placed under their own immediate and official protection †. The University of Edinburgh, which has since risen to such eminence, owed its erection to the fall of episcopacy. In the year 1579, when the General Assembly had attacked the episcopal office and drawn up the model of presbytery, the design of founding a college in Edinburgh was revived ‡. Encouraged by the ministers and other public-spirited individuals in the city, the magistrates immediately commenced building apartments for the accommodation of professors and students ; and in the end of the

* Record of Town Council of Edinburgh, April 23, 1561, and April 8, 1562. See under Note V.

† Crawford's Hist. of University of Edinburgh, p. 19. Maitland's Hist. of Edin. p. 356.

‡ Record of Town Council, April 24, and Nov. 25, 1579.

year 1583 the classes were opened, under the patronage of the town-council, and the sanction of a royal charter *. By donations from individuals and public bodies, and by obtaining part of a legacy which Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, had bequeathed for a similar purpose †, the patrons were enabled to extend the benefits of the institution. From the number of students who resorted to the new college, it was apparent that it would soon rival the most frequented of the older establishments; and although it suffered a great loss by the premature death of Rollock, its excellent principal, yet was it in a prosperous condition when Melville was removed from Scotland ‡.

Transferred from one sovereign to another, and lying at a distance from the seats of the governments to which they at different times became subject, the inhabitants of the Orkney Islands had been neglected, and allowed to remain in ignorance and barbarism. Bishop Reid, whose attention to the interests of learning deserves great praise, endea-

* Though the name of a *University* is not applied to the institution either in the Royal Charter of 1582, or in the Act of Parliament of 1621, yet in the latter, it is declared to be "ane Colledge—of humane letteris and toungis, of philosophie, theologie, medicine, the lawis, and all uther liberall sciences," and is endowed with "all liberties, freedoms, immunities and priviledgis appertening to ane free Colledge, and that in als ample forme and lairge maner as anye Colledge hes or brukis w^{thin} this his Maties realme." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 670, 671.)

† See Note R.

‡ Crawford's Hist. of the Univ. of Edinburgh, p. 67.

voured to remedy this evil by providing means of education for his clergy and the youth of his diocese. Having given a new foundation to his cathedral church of Kirkwall in 1544, he appointed the person who held the office of Chancellor to read publicly, once a week, a lecture on the canon law; and the chaplain of St. Peter's to act as master of a grammar school*. After the reformation the emoluments of the chaplainry continued to be applied to the support of the master of the grammar school of Kirkwall†. In the year 1581, a proposal to erect

* "Hic Cancellarius, qui pro tempore fuerit, tertium locum post prepositum occupabit, qui semel in septimana, nisi aliunde legitime impediatur, tenebitur publice in Jure pontificio legere in Capitulo omnibus canonicis, prebendariis, capellanis, et aliis interesse volentibus."—Ordēnamus preterea capellaniam beati Petri primum omnium tresdecim incompatibilem cum alio beneficio, alteragio seu servitio perpetuo, cujus sacellanus erit Magister artium et peritus grammaticus, Scole grammaticalis erit magister." (Nova Erectio ad decorem et augmentationem divini cultus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Orchadensi. Oct. 28, 1544. in Arch. Civit. Edin.) This deed was confirmed by Cardinal Beaton "pridie kal. Julii, 1545." (Bulla Nove Ereccionis Ecclesiæ et Capituli Orchadensis: ibid.) Mackenzie, in his Life of Bishop Reid, says: "He built St. Olau's Church in Kirkwall, and a large court of buildings, to be a college for instructing of the youth in these and the adjacent isles, in grammar, philosophy, and mathematics." (Lives, iii. 47.)

† There is extant an original Gift and Presentation by Patrick Earl of Orkney (dated Feb. 26, 1595.) of the "Prebendarie of St. Peter lyand within the diocie of Orkney—conforme to the erection thereof." The presentee is "to make actual residence for serving of the gramār school at Kirkwall as Master principal thereunto—utherways this gift to expyre *ipso facto*." This was followed by a decret of the Court of Session, May 22, 1601, confirming the gift. (Communication from Alexander Peterkin, Esq. Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney.)

a College in Orkney was laid before parliament, by which it was referred, along with other plans for promoting education, to certain commissioners *. It is probable that the scheme was defeated by the interest of those who had got possession of the ecclesiastical revenues of that diocese, which formed the only fund from which the seminary could have been erected and endowed.

In 1592, the year in which presbytery obtained a legal establishment, Sir Alexander Fraser of Phillorth laid the foundation of a university and college within the town of Fraserburgh in Aberdeenshire †. It was intended for the ornament of a town on which he had conferred many privileges, and for the instruction of the youth in the northern part of the kingdom. The parliament ratified the institution in 1597, with high commendations of the liberality and patriotism of the founder ‡.

* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 214.

† The grant confirming to him the lands and barony of Phillorth (July 1, 1592.) contains the following clause: "Dedimus et concessimus tenoreque presencium damus et concedimus plenariam potestatem et libertatem prefato Alexandro Fraser heredibus suis masculis et assignatis Collegium seu Collegia infra dictum burgum de Fraser edificandi, Universitatem erigendi, omnia genera officialium eisdem conveniē et correspondeē elegendi locandi et deprivandi, fundationes pro eorum sustentatione et omnia privilegia quecunque necessaria faciendi et dotandi, Rectores principales et subprincipales et alia membra necessaria ad voluntatem et optionem dicti Alexri ejusque heredum masculorum et assignatorum antedict. faciendi eligendi mutandi et deponendi, leges acta et statuta pro boni ordinis observatione faciendi et custodire causandi." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. lxiv. f. 46.)

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 147, 148.

Charles Ferme, who had taught for several years as a regent at Edinburgh, was chosen principal of the new college; and in the year 1600, the General Assembly authorized him to undertake this office, along with that of minister of the parish of Fraserburgh *. His labours were much interrupted by the Earl of Huntly; and an end was put to them by his confinement, first in the castle of Down and afterwards in the island of Bute, for assisting at the General Assembly at Aberdeen †. It does not appear that he had any successor in the college, which was most probably allowed to fall into decay amidst the distractions produced by the alteration of church-government.

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 194, b. Crawford's Hist. of Univ. of Edin. pp. 31, 33, 37, 39, 42. *Fermæi Analysis in Epist. ad Romanos, Epist. Dedic. et Epist. ad Lect.* Edinb. 1651.

† In 1608, Ferme wrote, from the place of his confinement, to Robert Bruce: "I have to this hour been releaved be the comfort of no creature; neither have I heard to whom I may go. A thousand deaths hath my soul tasted of; but still the truth and mercie of the Lord hath succoured me." (Cald. vii. 98, 99.) He was restored to his parish before his death, which happened on the 24th of September, 1617. Verses to his memory were composed by Archibald Simson, (Annal. p. 138.) and by Principal Adamson of Edinburgh, who, in the 75th year of his age, published a work of Ferme, who had been his regent at college. (Prefix. ad *Fermæi Analys. ut supra.*) "Mr. Charles Fairme," was called to be "second minister of Haddington." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, July 28, and Aug. 25, 1596, and Sept. 28, 1597.) At the "desyre of patrik cohren and Georg heriot, commissionares direct from the session of the kirk of the north-west quarter of Edr," the presbytery "tollerat Mr Charles ferum to preach in the Kirk of that quarter, at sic tymes and necessary ocasioness as he salbe imployit be said session." (Rec. of Presb. of Edinburgh, Sept. 12, 1598.) He "was gane to the north parts," in Dec. 12, 1598. (Ibid.)

The College of Fraserburgh might have succeeded better, had it not been for a similar establishment erected about the same time by George Earl Marischal in the town of New Aberdeen *. Marischal College was originally endowed only for a principal, three regents, and six bursars ; but its situation in a flourishing town furnished it with students, its proximity to King's College excited emulation, and the gratitude or the pride of individuals who received their education at it soon increased the number of its professorships and bursaries, as well as the small stock of books with which it was originally provided †.

Whatever may be thought as to the expediency of some of these collegial institutions, there can be but one opinion as to the zeal which they evinced in behalf of the interests of literature. Whether the founders acted from the impulse of their own minds, or were guided by the deference which they paid to the opinions of others, the fact of so many academies rising up at the same time, shews that the public attention had been awakened to the importance of education, and that a general and strong passion for literary pursuits was felt through the

* The Charter of the College was signed by "George Erle Marshall," on the 2nd of April, 1593. It was approved of by the General Assembly at Dundee on the 24th of the same month, "after being examined by a Committee of their number." (Memorial by Principal Blackwell.) And it was ratified by Parliament on the 21st of July following. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 35.)

† Memorial for Marischal College by Principal Blackwell.

nation. It may also be observed that the improvements in the mode of teaching which had been introduced into the universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow were adopted in one degree or another in the newly-erected colleges. At Edinburgh, indeed, each regent conducted his students through the whole course of their studies, either because Rollock had been accustomed to this method at St. Andrews, or because he could not find a sufficient number of teachers. But at Aberdeen, in Marischal College from the beginning the regents had particular professions assigned to them *; and the same arrangement was prescribed by the new foundation of King's College †. When Melville returned from Geneva, although more than thirty years had elapsed from the first introduction of the Greek language into Scotland, the students at St. Andrews did not acquire any knowledge of it beyond the regular declensions. But now the most difficult Greek authors were read and explained in all our universities. The knowledge of Hebrew was brought to the country by a deserving individual at the establishment of the Reforma-

* “*Nolumus autem Academiæ nostræ præceptores ad novas Professiones transilire, sed ut in eadem professione se exercent, ut adolescentes qui gradatim ascendant, dignum suis studiis et ingeniis nanciscantur Præceptorem.*” (*Novæ Academiæ Abredonensis per Comittem Marischallum Regia Autoritate, Erectio et Instructio.*) The Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac languages, Physiology (Natural History) Geometry, Geography, Chronology, and Astronomy, were to be taught by the Principal and Masters of Marischal College.

† See under Note I.

tion ; and yet, fourteen years after that period, not one of the professors in the first university of the kingdom could teach its alphabet *. But now the Hebrew language was accurately taught in each of the universities, along with the cognate tongues which had hitherto been utterly unknown in Scotland. The scientific lectures first read by Melville at Glasgow, and afterwards adopted in the other universities, included several useful branches of knowledge, not formerly taught in the established course of study, or treated in the most superficial manner ; as geography, chronology, civil and natural history, geometry and the system of the sphere, according to the discoveries of recent astronomers.

The resort of foreign students to Scotland at this period is another interesting fact in the history of our national literature. Formerly no instance of this kind had occurred. On the contrary, it was a common practice for the youth of this country, upon finishing their course of education at one of our colleges, to go abroad, and prosecute their studies at one or more of the universities on the continent. Nor did any one think himself entitled to the honourable appellation of a learned man who had not added the advantages of a foreign to those of a domestic education. But after the reformation of the universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the erection of the College of Edinburgh, this practice became gradually less frequent, until it ceased en-

* Life of John Knox, vol. i. p. 6 ; ii. 14. Melville's Diary, p. 26.

tirely, except with those who wished to attain proficiency in law or in medicine. If students in languages, the arts, or divinity, now left Scotland, it was generally to teach, and not to be taught, in foreign seminaries. The same cause which produced this change attracted students from abroad to this country. A few years after Melville went to the university of St. Andrews, the names of foreigners appear for the first time on its records. The number of these rapidly increased; and Scotland continued to be frequented by students from the continent for a considerable time after the original cause of attraction had been removed. Though St. Andrews was the chief place to which they resorted, yet they studied also in the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Some of them were persons of noble birth, but the greater part were young men engaged in the cultivation of theology and the branches of learning connected with it. No adequate cause of the fact under consideration can be assigned but the report which had gone abroad of the flourishing state of education in Scotland. It is a mistake to suppose that the foreign students were for the most part Danes, who were induced to visit this country in consequence of the connexion established between it and Denmark by the marriage of James. Some of them were Danes; but a still greater number were French, besides Belgians, Germans, and Poles*.

The number of Scotchmen who at this time dis-

* See Note S.

tinguished themselves as teachers in foreign universities and schools was great. I have had occasion to speak of some of those who taught in the protestant academies of France; but to give any thing like a proper account of them would lead me into a digression disproportionately large. I cannot however omit mentioning here a literary undertaking in Ireland by two of our countrymen. The state of education in that country had fallen so low that it was with difficulty that an individual capable of teaching the learned languages could be found even in the capital. In the year 1587, James Fullerton and James Hamilton established a school in Dublin. The talents of the two Scotchmen, joined with the most engaging manners, soon procured them scholars. After they had taught privately for five years, they were admitted to professorships in Trinity College, the fabric of which had been recently completed; and they contributed to bring the University of Dublin into that reputation which it quickly acquired. Their labours would have deserved commemoration if they had done no more than educate the celebrated James Usher, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, the great ornament of the church of Ireland, and one of the most learned men of his age. He was one of their first pupils in the grammar school, was conducted through the course of philosophy at the university by Hamilton, and was accustomed to mention it as an instance of the kindness of Providence that he received his education under the two Scotchmen, "who came

hither by chance, and yet proved so happily useful to himself and others." Whether the primate was initiated by them into the principles of the Hebrew language, in which he afterwards attained great proficiency, we are not informed; but they introduced him to the beauties of the classic poets and orators, with which he was captivated in his youth to a degree which we could scarcely have supposed from the tenor of his subsequent studies*. It has been said that Hamilton and Fullerton concealed a political design under their literary undertaking; and that they were sent to Dublin by the Scottish court as secret agents to obtain the consent of the Irish nobility and gentry to James's right of succession to Elizabeth. This is not at all likely. It is much more probable, that the enterprise was entirely literary, and undertaken from the same motives which induced so many of their learned countrymen at that time to seek a foreign field for the exertion of their talents. At a subsequent period James availed himself of the credit which they had gained, and they were employed by him in secret negotiations, which they conducted with much abi-

* Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 3. Smith, *Vita Usseii*, p. 16. Dillingham, *Vita Laur. Chadertoni*, p. 55. There is a letter from Hamilton to Sir James Sempill, (Dublin, May 4, 1612.) in recommendation of Usher, when he went to London to publish his first work. "Clear them (Dr. Chalonier and Mr. Usher) to his Ma^{ty} that they ar not puritants; for they have dignitarieships and prebends in the Cathedral churches here." (MS. in Archiv. Eccl. Scot. vol. xxviii. num. 18.)

lity and success*. The services of both were rewarded. Fullerton was knighted, admitted a gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and resided at court after the accession. Hamilton was created Viscount Claneboy, and afterwards Earl of Clanbrissel†; was entrusted with great authority in Ireland; and in concert with his pupil, the primate, and his countryman, the bishop of Raphoe, shewed favour to such ministers as took shelter in that country from the persecution of the Scottish prelates‡. Fullerton and Hamilton were early acquaintances of Melville§, and the former was one of his most intimate and steady friends||. He retained his love of

* This is confirmed by the account which Dr. Birch gives; although he speaks immediately of negotiations with the English nobility. (Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 232.) The letter from King James inserted in the Appendix to Strype's Annals, vol. iv. and which Strype supposes to have been written to Lord Hamilton, was addressed, I have no doubt, to James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Claneboy.

† Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 257. According to Lodge, he was the eldest son of Hans Hamilton of Dunlop. Crawford says that Hans Hamilton, *vicar* of Dunlop, was son of Archibald Hamilton of Raploch. (MS. Baronage, pp. 265—267: in Bibl. Jurid. Edin, Jac. V. 5. 30.)

‡ Life of Mr. Robert Blair, pp. 47—52, 64, 80. Life of Mr. John Livingston.

§ In the year 1585, James Hamilton was made Master of Arts at St. Andrews, and in 1586, one of the same name was laureated at Glasgow. I have stated (vol. i. p. 71.) that Sir James Fullerton was educated under Melville at Glasgow. But it may be added, that in the list of Melville's class-fellows are the names "Jacobus Hamyltoun," and "Jacobus Fullartoun." (See above, vol. i. p. 422.)

|| Letter from Melville to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, in Appendix.

letters, and a partiality for his early studies, after he had exchanged the life of the scholar for that of the courtier*.

In the preceding chapter some account has been given of the state of the inferior order of seminaries in Scotland when Melville came to St. Andrews†. Since that time the number of parochial schools had increased, although in many places they were still wanting, and in others the teachers enjoyed a very inadequate and precarious support. There was as yet no law which compelled the landholders or parishioners to provide them with accommodations or salaries. The persuasions of the ministers and the authority of the church-courts were, however, exerted in supplying this defect. As every minister was bound regularly to examine his people, it became his interest to have a schoolmaster for the instruction of the youth. At the annual visitation of

* "*Hoc saxum* (a grammatical difficulty) *cum diu volvissem, tandem incidi in Jacobum Fullertonum, virum doctum, et in omni disciplina satis exercitatum. Cum eo rem disceptavi, &c.*" (*Humii Grammatica Nova*, Part. ii. p. 15.) See also *Leochæi Epigram.* pp. 23, 48. In 1611, Sir James Fullerton was, by the favour of Prince Henry, appointed Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Master of the Privy Purse to the Duke of York. (*Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales*, pp. 232—235.) His Testament is dated Dec. 23, 1630, and was proved Feb. 5, 1630, O. S. He left no issue, and bequeathed "the estate and interest of the manor of Bifleete," with his leases of the Lead Mines, &c. after paying his debts, to his "deare and wellbeloved wife, the Lady Bruce." "The Right Honourable Thomas Lord Bruce, Baron of Kinlosse" was his sole executor. (Will, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.)

† See above, p. 365. *Comp.* vol. i. pp. 416—418.

parishes by presbyteries and provincial synods, the state of the schools formed one subject of uniform inquiry ; the qualifications of the teachers were tried ; and where there was no school, means were used for having one established. A "common order" as to the rate of contribution to be raised for the salary of the teacher, and as to the fees to be paid by the scholars, was laid down and put in practice, long before the act of council in 1616 which was ratified by parliament in 1633. It is a mistake to suppose that the parochial schools of Scotland owed their origin to these enactments. The parliamentary statute has, indeed, been eventually of great benefit. But it would have remained a dead letter but for the exertions of the church-courts ; and, owing to the vague nature of its provisions, it continued long to be evaded by those who were insensible to the benefits of education, or who grudged the smallest expense for the sake of promoting it. The reader will find in the notes some facts which throw light on the state of parochial instruction at this period *.

The classical schools had also increased in number, and improvements were introduced into those which had existed from ancient times. Two individuals, who were successively at the head of the High School of Edinburgh, are entitled to our notice here, from the services which they rendered to the literature of their country, as well as the connexion which they had with Melville. Hercules

* See Note T.

Rollock had received a complete education, and was an excellent classical scholar. After finishing his studies at St. Andrews, and teaching for some time in King's College, Aberdeen *, he went abroad, and studied at Poitiers in France †. On his return to Scotland, he was warmly recommended to the young King by Buchanan ‡; and it seems to have been in consequence of this recommendation that he was appointed Commissary of Angus and the Carse of Gowrie, which were disjoined from the Commissariat of St. Andrews in the year 1580, and erected into a separate jurisdiction. But the new court was soon suppressed, in consequence of the opposition made to it by the commissary and magistrates of St. Andrews §. In 1584, Rollock was brought from Dundee ||, and continued head master of the High School of Edinburgh for eleven years, at the end of which he was displaced in consequence of some offence

* Orem's Description of Old Aberdeen, p. 159.

† *Delitiæ Poet. Scot.* ii. 350, 351. *Comp. Buchanani Epist.* pp. 13, 21. In a MS. Catalogue of Scottish writers, (to be found in the Advocates Library, in the same volume with Charters's Account of Scottish divines) Hercules Rollock is said to have published "*Panegyrim de Pace in Gallia constituenda. Pictavi 1576.*" He had also been some time in England. (*Delit. ut supra*, p. 361.)

‡ *Buchanani Epist.* p. 29.

§ Record of Privy Council, January 12, 1580.

|| May 29, 1584. Record of Town Council of Edin. vol. vii. f. 90. On the 17th of April, 1588, his salary was augmented "from 50 to 100 pundis." In his petition for an augmentation, he tells the council, that "upoun inforinatiooun of *Mr. James lawsoun* and other favoureris of lerning he was employet to undertak y^e chaarge of thair hie schole." (*Ib.* vol. viii. f. 149, b. 180.)

which was taken at his conduct *. On his removal from the High School he obtained an office in the Court of Session, and was patronised by the King †. He was suspected of being the author of a lampoon against Bruce and the other ministers who were banished at the time of the tumult which happened in the capital ; on which account Melville attacked him, in several stinging epigrams, as a mercenary poet, and a starved schoolmaster turned lawyer. Poets are not disposed to brook an affront. Rollock replied ; and in a poem, more distinguished for its length than its vigour, denied the charge, and vindicated his character ‡. Whatever might be his imprudences or personal foibles, he certainly contributed to raise the character of the useful seminary over which he had presided §.

Alexander Hume, who succeeded to the rectorship of the High School, if not so good a poet as

* Record of Town Council, vol. x. f. 71. Rollock imputes his dismissal to the ignorance of the citizens, who were incapable of appreciating the excellence of his instructions, so superior to those of ordinary pedagogues ; and he represents the school as sinking, at his removal, into the barbarism from which he had recovered it. (Delit. Post. Scot. ii. 389.)

† Delit. ut supra.

‡ Ibid. p. 117. Comp. p. 337. In the catalogue of books presented to the University of Edinburgh, by Drummond of Hawthornden, (p. 24,) is the following article : " Ad Herculem Rollocum responsio Andree Melvini. MS autogr." But the MS. is not now to be found.

§ The magistrates appear to have been sensible of this ; for on the 20th of February, 1600, they gave an allowance to " the relict and bairns of Mr Hercules Rollock." (Council Register, vol. x. f. 270.)

Rollock, was a superior grammarian, and a more acceptable teacher *. He has himself informed us, that he was descended of the ancient family of the Humes, acquired the knowledge of the Latin language under the well-known Andrew Simson at Dunbar, went through the course of philosophy at St. Andrews, and afterwards spent sixteen years in England, partly in studying at the University of Oxford, and partly in teaching. His theological works shall be mentioned afterwards. While he taught at Edinburgh, his attention was turned to the elementary books which were at that time used in grammar schools, and he was ambitious of improving on the labours of foreigners, as well as of his countrymen, Simson, Carmichael, and Duncan †. His Latin Grammar, on which he had spent many years, and which he published, after submitting it to the correction of Melville and other learned friends, did not give the satisfaction which he expected. This was partly owing to prejudice against innovation, and partly to the author's having sacrificed ease and perspicuity to logical precision in his arrangement and definitions. But, although less

* Crawford's Hist. of the Univ. of Edin. p. 64. His appointment was on the 23d of April, 1596. (Council Register, vol. x. ff. 75, 76.)

† "Grammaticæ Latinæ, de Etymologia, liber secundus. Cantab. 1587." James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, was the author of this work. Andrew Duncan, the author of various grammatical pieces, (Ames, by Herbert, iii. 1515, 1516, 1518.) was minister of Crail, and one of those who were banished to France for holding the Assembly at Aberdeen.

adapted for youth, the work displays considerable knowledge of the principles of grammar, and might be useful to teachers and advanced scholars. The privy council, in pursuance of an act of parliament, enjoined it to be used in all the schools of the kingdom; an injunction which was defeated by the interest of the bishops, whose displeasure the author had incurred, and by the persevering opposition of Ray, who succeeded to his place in the High School*.

It was during the incumbency of Hume, that the High School of Edinburgh received that form which it has preserved, with little alteration, to the present day. In the year 1598, a code of laws, drawn up by a committee of learned men, and intended to regulate the mode of teaching and the government of the youth, received the sanction of the town-council. The school was divided into four classes, to be taught separately by four masters, including the principal. The boys passed from one master to another at the end of each year; a plan which has not the same recommendations when applied to the teaching of a single language that it has when applied to different languages or branches of science. By the same laws, the Humanity class in the College was also regulated, and Greek was appointed to be taught in it as well as Latin. In the year 1614, a fifth class was established in the High School, and during their

* See Note U.

attendance on it the boys were initiated into Greek grammar*.

In the year 1606, Hume relinquished his situation in Edinburgh, and became principal master of the grammar school at Prestonpans, which had been recently founded by John Davidson. The exertions which Davidson made to provide for the religious and literary instruction of his parish entitle him to the most grateful remembrance. At his own expense he built a church and a manse, a school-house and a dwelling-house for the master. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and the founder destined all his heritable and moveable property, including his books, to the support and ornament of this trilingual academy†. Similar endowments were made by others‡; and there is reason to think that, in not a few instances, the funds which benevolent individuals bequeathed for the promotion of learning were clandestinely retained, or illegally alienated from their original destination, by the infidelity and avarice of executors and trustees. Several acts of the legislature were made to prevent such abuses§.

* See Note V.

† See Note W.

‡ John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, endowed a school, and made provision for the poor, within his parish. Letter from him to the General Assembly, Nov. 16, 1602: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 2. 17. f. 156.) "The King's Schole of Dunkeld," founded Feb. 22, 1567, (Reg. of Presentations, vol. i. p. 5.) was ratified by Parliament in 1606. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 313.)

§ Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 94; vol. v. p. 22.

In investigating the progress which science made in Scotland during this period, the first thing which strikes us is the introduction of the Ramean philosophy, and its general substitution in the room of the Aristotelian. The influence which Ramus had in the advancement of philosophy has not, in my opinion, had that importance attached to it by modern writers which it deserves. In forming an estimate of the degree in which any individual has contributed to the illumination of the age in which he lived, it is necessary to take into account something more than the character of his opinions viewed in themselves : we must inquire if they were brought fairly and fully into contact with the public mind, and attend to the circumstances which combined to aid or to neutralize their effect. By a careful examination of the writings of such men as Bruno and Cardan, we may discover here and there a sentiment akin to a truer philosophy ; but these sentiments appear to have struck their minds during certain lucid intervals, and are buried in a farrago of fantastic, extravagant, and unintelligible notions, which at that period must have had the tendency to discredit them completely with persons of sober thinking. They are to be viewed rather as curious phenomena in the history of individuals than as indications of the progress made by the human mind. There are three grand events in the modern history of philosophy. The first is the revival of literature, which, by promoting the study of the original writings of the ancients, rescued the Aristotelian

philosophy from the barbarism and corruption which it had contracted during the middle ages. The second is the emancipation of the human mind from that slavish subjection to authority under which it had been long held by a superstitious veneration for the name of Aristotle. The third is the introduction of, what is commonly called, the inductive philosophy. The two former preceded and made way for the latter. In bringing about the first a multitude of persons in all parts of Europe had co-operated with nearly equal zeal. The merit of effecting the second is in a great measure due to one individual. The Platonic school which was founded in the fifteenth century did not produce any extensive or permanent effects on the mode of study and philosophizing. It originated in literary enthusiasm ; its disciples were chiefly confined to Italy ; and they contented themselves with pronouncing extravagant and rapturous panegyrics on the divine Plato. Valla, Agricola *, Vives, and Nizolius had pointed out various defects in the reigning philosophy, and recommended a mode of investigating truth more rational than that which was pursued in the schools. But they had not succeeded in fixing the attention of the public on the subject. The attack which Ramus made on the Peripatetic philosophy was direct, avowed, persevering, and irresistible. He possessed an acute mind, a compe-

* Ramus acknowledges that he was indebted for more accurate views of Logic to Rudolphus Agricola, and that he learned them from Sturmius, one of Agricola's scholars. (Prefat. in Schol. Grammat.)

tent acquaintance with ancient learning, an ardent love of truth, and invincible courage in maintaining it. He had applied with avidity to the study of the logic of Aristotle; and the result was a conviction, that it was an instrument utterly unfit for discovering truth in any of the sciences, and answering no other purpose than that of scholastic wrangling and digladiation. This conviction he communicated to the public; and, in spite of all the resistance which he encountered from ignorance and prejudice, he succeeded in bringing over a great part of the learned world to his views. What Luther was in the church, Ramus was in the schools. He overthrew the infallibility of the Stagyrice, and proclaimed the right of mankind to think for themselves in matters of philosophy; a right which he maintained with the most undaunted fortitude, and to which he may be said to have died a martyr*. If Ramus had not shaken the authority of the long-

* "Eadem in religionis restitutione judiciorum remoras ætas nostra experta est. Quapropter per Deum optimum maximum, Logicæ artis professores exhortor, ut philosophiæ veritatem pluris quam philosophi ullius auctoritatem faciant.—Tales denique sint in Aristotele cognoscendo et interpretando, qualis Aristoteles in Platone fuit. Unum enim id illis exopto, ut Aristoteles ipsi sibi sint, vel Aristotele etiam præstantiores magistri: sicut Aristoteles nimirum Plato alter esse, aut etiam Platone præstantior esse voluit." (Rami Animad. in Organ. Aristotelis, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 66. edit. Francf. 1594.) Those who wish to understand the spirit of Ramus, and the motives which induced him to embark in the cause of philosophical reform, should read the whole of the 13th chapter of the 4th book of his *Animadversiones*. Brucker has given extracts from it. (Hist. Philos. tom. v. pp. 566—568.)

venerated *Organon* of Aristotle, the world might not have seen the *Novum Organum* of Bacon. The faults of the Ramean system of Dialectics have long been acknowledged. It proceeded upon the radical principles of the logic of Aristotle; its distinctions often turned more upon words than things; and the artificial method and uniform partitions which it prescribed in treating every subject, were unnatural, and calculated to fetter, instead of forwarding, the mind in the discovery of truth. But it discarded many of the useless speculations, and much of the unmeaning jargon respecting topics, predicables, and predicaments, which made so great a figure in the ancient logic. It inculcated upon its disciples the necessity of accuracy and order in arranging their own ideas and in analyzing those of others *. And, as it advanced no claims to infallibility, submitted

* Bacon was anxious to disclaim connexion with Ramus, whom he calls the "neoteric rebel against Aristotle." *Catalina Cethegum*? But he acknowledges the merits of Ramus on the head of method. "Methodus veluti scientiarum architectura est: atque hac in parte melius meruit Ramus," &c. (De Augm. Scient. lib. vi. cap. ii.) Hooker refers to the system of Ramus in the following passage. Having spoken of the utility of art in advancing knowledge, and of the little progress which had been made in all parts of natural knowledge since the days of Aristotle, he adds: "In the poverty of that other new-devised aid, two things are, notwithstanding, singular. Of marvellous quick dispatch it is, and doth shew them that have it as much almost in three days, as if it had dwelt threescore years with them. Again, because the curiosity of man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the search of things then were convenient, the same is thereby restrained unto such generalities, as, everywhere offering themselves, are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be." (Eccles. Polity, book i. § 6.)

all its rules to the test of practical utility, and set this constantly before the eye of the student as the only legitimate end of the whole logical apparatus, its faults were soon discovered, and yielded readily to a more natural method of reasoning and investigation.

The eloquence of Ramus, added to the novelty of his opinions, and the ardour and boldness with which he maintained them, had a fascinating influence on his students. Foreigners, who attended his lectures in the university of Paris, carried his peculiar sentiments along with them to their respective countries. Within a few years after his death his writings were known through Europe; and, before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, Ramism, as the new mode of philosophizing was called, was publicly taught in some of the principal universities of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, and Britain*. I formerly stated that Melville studied under him, and that on his return to his native country, he introduced his master's system of logic into the university of Glasgow†. It continued to be taught there under his successor, Patrick

* Brucker, *Hist. Philos.* tom. v. pp. 576—581. Bayle, *Diet. art.* De la Ramée, Note O. Melch. Adami *Vitæ Germ. Philos.* p. 509. Casp. Brantius, *Vita Jac. Arminii*, p. 16. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. 352, 527. Ramus's Logic was prelected on at Cambridge in 1590. (Dillingham, *Vita Chadertoni et Usserii*, p. 15.) And various editions of his works were published in England before the year 1600. (Ames, by Herbert, *passim*.)

† See above, vol. i. pp. 24, 67.

Sharp*. At St. Andrews, however, it met with the most determined resistance. It is a striking proof of the ascendancy which the name of Aristotle had gained over the human mind, that his philosophy continued long to maintain its ground in the greater part of the protestant schools. When Luther had attacked it with his usual vehemence, his colleague Melancthon interposed for its protection. From attachment to it, the members of the Academy of Geneva refused to admit Ramus into their number, during the time that Melville resided in that city †. It was not until the year 1583, that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave public warning against sentiments subversive of religion contained in books which were put into the hands of all the youth ‡. And twenty years after every vestige of papal authority had been abolished in the university of St. Andrews, Melville had almost excited a tumult in it by calling in question the infallibility of a heathen philosopher. But he ultimately succeeded in effecting a reform on the philosophical creed at St. Andrews §. Rollock, who became a convert to the new philosophy, introduced it into the College of Edinburgh, in which it continued long to be taught ||. The writings of Aris-

* Riveti Opera, tom. iii. p. 897.

† Bezæ Epistolæ, epp. 34, 36. Brantius, Vita Arminii, pp. 21, 22.

‡ Petrie, P. ii. p. 439.

§ See above, vol. i. pp. 169—171.

|| Adamsoni Præfat. in Fermæ Anal. Epist. ad Romanos. Crawford's Hist. of Univ. of Edin. pp. 58—60. Bower's Hist. vol. i. Ap-

totle were not, however, banished from our universities, and his authority appears to have revived at St. Andrews after Melville's removal *.

Theological learning made great advancement during this period. Formerly no commentary on scripture, and no collection of sermons, had appeared in Scotland. This defect was now supplied by the writings of Rollock and Bruce. The former published commentaries on most of the books of the New Testament, and on some parts of the Old, which were speedily reprinted on the continent, with warm recommendations by foreign divines †. Though they contain occasional remarks on the original, Rollock's commentaries are not distinguished for critical learning, nor do they discover deep research; but they are perspicuous, succinct, and judicious. His treatise on *Effectual Calling* is a compendious system of divinity, and affords a favourable specimen of the manner in which he executed this part of his academical lectures. It shews, among

pend. No. iii. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions an early edition of Ramus's Logic by one of our countrymen: "Rolandus Mackilmeneus Scotus, P. Rami Dialecticæ libri duo. Lond. 1576, 8vo." (De Script. Scot. p. 152.) "Rollandus Makilmane Novi Collegii" was laureated at St. Andrews, Feb. 10, 1569. Editions of the *Dialectica* were printed at Edinburgh as late as 1637 and 1640.

* William Forbes (afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh) who taught as a regent in King's College at the beginning of the 17th century, was a strenuous advocate for the Aristotelian philosophy. (Bayle, Dict. art. *Forbes*, *Guil.*)

† Beza's recommendation was conveyed in a letter to John Johnston, and is prefixed to "Tractatus de Vocatione—Authore Roberto Rolloco Scoto. Edinburgi 1597."

other things, that his understanding was not led astray by admiration of the Ramean logic, and that he did not suffer a superstitious or pedantic regard to methodistic rules to usurp the place of good sense in the arrangement and communication of his ideas. His sermons, which were published from notes taken by some of his hearers, exhibit him in a very amiable light, as "condescending to men of low estate," and keeping sacredly in view the proper end of preaching, the instruction and salvation of the people, and not the display of the learning, ingenuity, or eloquence of the preacher *. Bruce was a man of a

* "Certaine Sermons vpon severall places of the Epistles of Paul, Preached by M. Robert Rollock—Edinb. 1599." The epistle "To the Christiane Reader," prefixed to these Sermons, was probably written by James Melville, who subscribes the Scottish Sonnets which follow it:

Thy diuine Doctor deirest now is deid,
 Thy peirles Preicher now hes plaide his part.
 Thy painfull Pastor, quha in love did leid
 Thy little lambes with sweit and tender hart,
 Hes dreed his dayes with sair and bitter smart,
 To purchase pleasand profit unto thee.
 His words, his warks, his wayes, his vertues gart
 Thee get this gaine of great felicitie.

By his testament, Rollock appointed such of his manuscripts as should be thought worthy of publication to be dedicated to his friend Sir William Scot of Elie, Director of the Chancery. Scot wrote to Boyd of Trochrig at Saumur: (Edin. Mar. 3, 1609.) "Please to receive Rollocus prayers as he utterit them in pulpit before and after sermons.—I am presently in hand with Rollocus sermons on John's Evangel.—I will earnestly request you to cause print in one great vo-

stronger mind than Rollock. His sermons, particularly those on the sacraments, are more elaborately composed, more doctrinal and argumentative, more calculated to lead "on to perfection" those who are already grounded in the principles of religion, and whose spiritual senses are "exercised to discern between good and evil." He possessed at the same time the faculty of making himself understood on the most intricate subjects, and his sermons discover the same unction which recommended those of his pious colleague *. Rollock's manner in the pulpit was mild, affectionate, and winning; Bruce's was solemn, impressive, and commanding; and to apply to his sermons the reverse of the figure by which one of his hearers described his prayers, "every sentence was like a bolt shot from heaven." It is commonly supposed that the public discourses of the presbyterians at this time were protracted to a tedious length. The facts which have come to my knowledge lead to an opposite conclusion; and

sume all Rollocus Latine works." Speaking of Boyd's works, he adds: "If they were in this country, as I did to Rollocus, their printing should be no charge to you." (Letter, in Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 42: MSS. vol. v.)

* Bruce's Five Sermons on the Sacrament were printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave in 1590; and his miscellaneous sermons came from the same press in 1591. Both volumes, as well as a number of Rollock's treatises, were afterwards translated into English. In their original form they are curious as specimens of composition in the Scottish language, within a few years of the time at which it was generally laid aside by our writers.

I have no doubt that the practice referred to was introduced at a later period *.

The Hebrew language being now regularly taught in all our universities, several individuals attained to proficiency in it †. Patrick Symson acquired it in his old age ‡; and his brother, William Symson, undertook to explain one of the abstrusest parts of its philology, in the first work on Hebrew literature which appeared in Scotland §.

* Burnet says that Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh had "a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time." (Hist. of his own Times, i. 27.) But the following extract will shew that Forbes's tediousness, even when not carried to this extreme, gave offence to his brethren at an early period. "Nov. 1, 1605.—The said daye Mr. Willeame forbes regent exercesit, quha was cōmended, but censurit becaus he techit two hours. Na additione, becaus of the hour was past." (Record of the Presbytery of Aberdeen.) Speaking of Bruce, Livingston says: "He was both in public and private very short in prayer with others.—I have heard him say, he hath wearied when others have been longsome in prayer." (Charact. art. *Mr. Robert Bruce.*)

† Wodrow's *Life of John Scrimger*, p. 18; and Livingston's *Charact. art. William Aird*. In the Nova Fundatio of King's College, and in the Charter of Marischal College, Aberdeen, great anxiety is expressed by the founders that the Hebrew and Syriac tongues should be carefully taught by skilful professors.

‡ Archibald Simson's *Life of Patrick Simson*, MS. in the Advocates Library.

§ "Gul. Simpsonus edidit breves et perspicuas Regulas de Accentibus Hebraicis. 12mo. Londinj, 1617." (Sibbald *De Script. Scot.* p. 7.) This work (which I have not seen) is also mentioned in the *Epistle Dedicatory* to "The Destruction of inbred corruption, or the Christian's warfare against his bosome enemy—by Mr. Alexander Symson late minister of God's word at Merton in Scotland, Lond. 1644." 12mo. The reader may be pleased to see the following extract from that dedication. "The Author (Alexander Symson) was

The attention paid to the learned languages laid the foundation for the critical study of the Scriptures. It is to be lamented that the disputes in which the ministers were involved, and the hardships which many of them suffered, should have diverted them from this study at a time when individuals had begun to cultivate it with enthusiasm. Among these Robert Wallace, minister of St. Andrews and afterwards of Tranent, deserves to be particularized *. The only work which Patrick Sharp, principal of the College of Glasgow, left behind him, does not afford a proof of those literary acquirements which it is known he possessed †. He was the teacher of John Cameron, whose pro-

the last branch of that goodly vine that overspread the whole land : his father, Master Andrew Symson, minister of Dunbar, being one of the first that opposed Popery, (under whom some of the ancient Nobilitie, and many of the Gentry and Clergy of Scotland were educated, of whom not a few proved worthy Instruments for the advancement of God's glory in Church and Common-wealth) : As his Brothers, Master Matthew who died young ; Master Patrick, Minister of Striveling, who wrote *The History of the Church*, thrice printed ; Master William, Minister of Dumbarton, who wrote *De Hebraicis Accentibus* ; Master Archibald, Minister of Dalkeith, who wrote of *the Creation, Christs seven words on the Crosse, Samsons seven locks of haire, The seven Penitentiall Psalmes, Hieroglyphia animalium terrestrium, &c.* with a *Chronicle of Scotland*, in Latine, not yet printed ; Master Abraham, Minister of Norham."

* Casauboni Epistolæ, ab Almel. p. 669.

† " Doctrinæ Christianæ brevis explicatio. Authore Patricio Scharpio, Theologiæ professore in Academia Glascevense. Edinbvrge Excudebat Robertvs Walde-graue, 1599." 8vo. Pp. 287. This is an explication of the first three chapters of Genesis, the Apostles' Creed, Institution of the Lord's Supper, Decalogue and Lord's Prayer.

ficiency in Greek literature excited astonishment on the continent, and whom bishop Hall pronounced "the most learned man ever Scotland produced *." Cameron was a subtle theologian, and displayed much critical acumen in the interpretation of the Scriptures. He was not more distinguished by his writings, than by the circumstance of his having formed the opinions of Amyrauld, who divided the French protestants on the point of universal grace, and of Capellus, who attained to great celebrity as the founder of a new school in Hebrew philology and criticism †. Robert Boyd of Trochrig was a contemporary of Cameron, and like him taught in the academies of France as well as of his native country ‡. His Prelections on the Epistle to the Ephesians contain some good critical remarks, as well as many eloquent passages; and it is to be regretted that he should have rendered the work heavy and repulsive by indulging, according to a practice then common among the continental commentators, in long digressions, for the sake of illustrating general doctrines and deciding the controversies of the time.

* Capelli Icon Joan. Cameronis, præf. Oper. Cameronis. Genev. 1642. In 1598, Joannes Cameroun was laureated at Glasgow, and in 1599, he was admitted one of the regents.

† Lewis Capel to Boyd of Trochrig, Sept. 15, 1618: Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 80. Riveti Opera, tom. iii. p. 896.

‡ "Robertus Boyd" was laureated at Edinburgh in 1595. To his signature in the Album is added, in another hand, "Min^r verb. in Gallia postea prof. theol. et primarius Acad. Glasg. dein Edinb."

The *Hieroglyphica* * of Archibald Symson, which treat of the different branches of zoology referred to in Scripture, shew the learning of the author ; but his fancy led him, in this as well as in his other works, to expatiate in the field of allegory †. The works of Patrick Symson contain a

* “ *Hieroglyphica Animalium Terrestrialium, Volatilium, &c. quæ in Scripturis Sacris inveniuntur.*—Per Archibaldum Simsonum Dalkeithensis Ecclesiæ Pastorem. Edin. 1622.” 4to. The first part is confined to terrestrial Animals. The second and third parts, which treat of Fowls and Fishes, appeared in 1623. And in 1624, that which relates to Reptiles and Insects followed, under the name of “ *Tomus Secundus.*”

† Drummond, the poet, appears to have been pleased with the allegorical writings of Symson ; as he has encomiastic verses at the beginning of several of them. The following are prefixed to “ *Heptameron. The Sevin Dayes*—by M. A. Symson, Minister at Dalkeith. Sanct-Andrews Printed by Edward Raban, Printer to the Universitie. 1621.” sm. 8vo.

God binding with hid Tendons this great ALL,
Did make a LVTE, which had all parts it giuen :
This LVTES round Bellie was the azur'd Heauen ;
The Rose those Lights which He did there install :

The Bases were the Earth and Ocean :
The Treble shrill the Aire : the other Strings,
The vnlike Bodies, were of mixed things :
And then His Hand to breake sweete Notes began.

Those loftie Concords did so farre rebound.
That Floods, Rocks, Meadows, Forrests did them heare :
Birds, Fishes, Beasts danc'd to their siluer sound.
Onlie to them Man had a deafned Eare.

Now him to rouse from sleepe so deepe and long,
God wak'ned hath the Eccho of this Song.

W. D.

succinct History of the Christian Church, written in a style which, though not uniformly correct, is spirited, and breathes a classical air. Robert Pont, whose learning was various, had paid particular attention to Sacred Chronology, which he illustrated in several treatises*. Alexander Hume, of whom we have spoken as a grammarian, entered the lists as a polemical writer against members both of the Romish and English Churches†. And

* "A Newe Treatise of the right Reckoning of yeares and ages of the World—By M. Robert Pont an aged Pastour of the Kirk of Scotland.—Edin. 1599." This is different from his work "De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis. Lond. 1619." Charters also ascribes to him "Chronologiam de Sabbatis. Lond. 1626." His son, *Timothy Pont*, gave great assistance in drawing up the description and maps of Scotland which appeared in *Bleau's Atlas*. (*Memor. Balfouriana*, pp. 6, 36.) "Mr. Timothie pont min^r of Dwnet," and "Mr. Zacharie pont min^r of Bowar Wattin, in Caithness," occur in the *Books of Assignment and Modification of Stipends for the years 1601—1608*.

I find that it was not Robert Pont who married a daughter of John Knox, as I have elsewhere stated by mistake, (*Life of Knox*, vol. ii. Note BB.) but his son, Zachary. This appears from the following documents. "Junij 4, 1607. The session of Sanct Cuthbertis kirk contra Margaret Smith anent the throuche of Mr. Robert Pont hir husband." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 4. 22.) "Marg. Knox spous to Mr. Zach. Pont min^r at boar in Cathnes, w^t consent of Mr. Joⁿ Ker min^r at Preston, and Mr. Ja^s Knox, ane of the regents of the College of Ed^r, receives from Andro Lord Stewart of Vchiltrie 1300 merks." (*Gen. Reg. of Decrees*, vol. cvii. 28 May, 1605.) There is a previous deed relating to the same subject, which is signed by "Mr. Joⁿ Ker sone to v^mq^{ll} Andro Ker of fawdounside witnes." (*Ibid.* vol. civ. 13 Dec. 1604.)

† An account of his controversy with Dr. Adam Hill, on the article of the Creed concerning Christ's descent into Hell, may be seen in *Wood's Athenæ*, by Bliss, i. pp. 622—624. The following extracts relate to his *Rejoinder*, or second book against Hill. "5 Feby. 1593.

John Howieson composed an elaborate answer to Bellarmine, the redoubted and far-famed champion of Rome *.

The most learned of the divines who embraced episcopacy received their education during this period. Patrick Forbes of Corse, the relation and scholar of Melville †, and who afterwards became bishop of Aberdeen, wrote an able defence of the calling of the ministers of the Reformed Churches, and a commentary on the Revelation. The discourses of William Cowper, minister of Perth, and afterwards bishop of Galloway, are perhaps superior to any sermons of that age. A vein of practical piety runs through all his evangelical instructions; the style is remarkable for ease and fluency; and the illustrations are often striking and happy. His residence in England, during some years of the

The Pbrie appointis thair brether M. Ro^t Rollock and M. Joⁿ David-
soun to syt the book writtin be M. Alex^r Home concerning that part
of the creit He discendit to hell, and to report y^r judgement y^e xiith
of this Instant." "12th Feby. 1593. The said brether reporting
y^r judgements of the sufficiencie of y^e wark hes approuit y^e same, and
finds it may be prentit." (Record of Presb. of Edinburgh.) His
book against the Roman Catholics is entitled, "A Didvction of the
Trve and Catholik meaning of our Saulour his words this is my bodie
—by Alexander Hyme Maister of the high Schoole of Edinburgh.
Edin. 1602." A collection of practical treatises by him on *Conscience*,
&c. was printed by R. Waldegrave, Edin. 1594, 12mo. (See also
Wood, ut sup. Ames by Herbert, p. 1515.)

* Bulk of Univ. Kirk, f. 201. He is the author of a treatise on
Conscience, Edin. 1600. (Wood, and Charters.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 122. Garden, Vita Joannis Forbesii: præ-
fix. Oper. Forbesii. Wodrow's Life of Patrick Forbes of Corse,
p. 2: MSS. vol. ii.

early part of his life, may have given him that command of the English language by which his writings are distinguished *. Archbishop Spota-wood's History of the Church of Scotland was composed at a period considerably later ; but as I have been under the necessity of repeatedly calling in question its accuracy, I may take this opportunity of saying, that, as a composition, it is highly credit-able to the talents of the author, and is as much superior to the historical collections of Calderwood in point of style and arrangement, as it is inferior to them in accuracy and variety of materials.

The progress of our literature during this pe-riod is very discernible in the department of juris-prudence. Besides his edition of the acts of par-liament from the reign of James I. Sir John Skene, the Clerk Register, published for the first time, in Latin and in English, a collection of the laws and constitutions of our elder princes. Whatever opi-nion may be entertained as to the title which some of these have to be considered as originally belong-ing to the Scottish code, or as to the period at which others of them were enacted, it must be acknow-ledged that the labours of the publisher were meri-torious and valuable. He had travelled in Norway, Denmark, and adjacent countries † ; and the know-

* Life of Bishop Cowper, prefixed to his works, Lond. 1623, fol. He was born in the year 1568, and entered the university of St. An-drews in 1580. (Dikaiologie, p. 108.) He was admitted minister of Perth, Oct. 5, 1595. (Extracts from Rec. of Kirk Session of Perth, by Rev. Mr. Scott.)

† Sibbaldi Bibl. Scot. p. 134.

ledge which he acquired of the northern languages and customs enabled him to throw light on the ancient laws and legal usages of Scotland, both in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*, and in his notes on the *Regiam Majestatem* *. In vigour of mind and in acquaintance with the general principles of law, Sir Thomas Craig excelled Skene, as much as he fell behind him in the knowledge of the ancient statutory and consuetudinary laws of his country †. His book *De Feudis* was the first regular treatise on law composed in Scotland. It is written with elegance and in a philosophical spirit ; and the author of such a masterly performance could not fail, during his long practice at the bar, to raise the character of the profession, and to diffuse enlightened and liberal views among his breth-

* When the *Regiam Majestatem* was put to press, " finding non so meit as Mr. James Carmichaell, minister at Haddingtoune—to examine and espy and correct such errors and faults y'in as vsuallie occures in every printing that first cumis from the presse," the Lords of Privy Council applied to his presbytery to excuse his absence from his charge, " the space of tua monethis or thereby." (Letter to the presbyterie of hadingtoun ; Oct. 13, 1608 : in Lord Haddington's Col.) There is a poem by Carmichael at the end of the Scotch translation of that work.

† Craig has certainly failed in illustrating the peculiar form which the feudal law had assumed in Scotland : and in referring to ancient laws, and to decisions anterior to his own practice, he proceeds usually on the information of his older brethren. But perhaps the censures which a late writer has pronounced on him are too summary and indiscriminate. The charge of ignorance brought against him, for asserting that the civil law had not been taught in this country, will, I apprehend, turn out on examination to be unfounded. (Ross's Lectures on the Law of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 9.)

ren. William Welwood, who was prohibited from continuing his lectures on law at St. Andrews, published several useful and compendious treatises, which entitle him to a place among the juridical writers of the age. His *Parallel* exhibits a clear but meagre statement of the points of resemblance between the Jewish and Roman codes of jurisprudence*. His tract on Ecclesiastical Processes may be viewed as the first specimen of a *Form of Process*, which the Church of Scotland did not then possess†. His *Abridgement of Sea Laws* has the merit of being the first regular treatise on maritime jurisprudence which appeared in Britain, and led him to take part in a controversy which called forth the talents and erudition of a Grotius and a Selden‡.

The name of Welwood is also connected with

* "Ivris Divini Ivdæorum, ac Ivris Civilis Romanorum Parallela. — Authore Gvilielmo Velvod. Lvgd. Bat. 1594." 4to.

† Its title has been given above. (P. 32.) It was intended to distinguish between the forms of procedure used in civil courts and those which ought to be used in church courts—as to citations—the mode of trial—and appeals.

‡ "An Abridgment of all Sea-laws :—By William Welwood, professor of the Ciuill Lawe. London 1613." 4to. It was reprinted, but without the author's name, by Malynes, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, Lond. 1686. The Latin edition of this Abridgment, which appears to have been published before 1613, I have not seen. That part of it which relates to the controverted question was re-published under the following title : "De Dominio Maris,—Cosmopoli, Excudebat G. Fontisiluius 16. Calend. Januar. 1615." 4to. An edition of it was printed at the Hague in 1663; and in the course of that year there appeared an answer to it by Theod. J. F. Graswinckel, a Dutch lawyer, who wrote also against the *Mare Clausum* of Selden.

the progress of physics and the arts. He possessed an inquisitive mind; and in all his disquisitions we can trace a commendable desire to convert his knowledge to the good of mankind*. While he taught mathematics at St. Andrews, he obtained from government a patent for a new mode of raising water with facility from wells and low grounds. He afterwards published an account of his plan, and of the principles upon which he calculated that it would produce the intended effect. This publication is a curious specimen of the state in which the science of hydraulics was at that time, and of those experiments by which its true principles came to be gradually discovered and applied†. The chronological works of Robert Pont confirm the testimonies borne to his skill in mathematics and astronomy‡. But the individual who left all his contemporaries far behind him in such pursuits, and who reflected the highest honour on his country, was John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of the logarith-

* He was the author of a treatise of practical theology: "*Ars Domandarum Perturbationum ex solo Dei verbo quasi transcripto constructa. Authore Gvilielmo Velvod. Middelbvrgi, 1594.*" 8vo. Pp. 62. The dedication to John, Earl of Cassilis, "*Collegii ad Andreadopolin, quod Saluatorianum cognominant Patrono,*" is dated "*Ex Academia Andreana, Calen. Maijs. 1594.*"

† See Note X.

‡ Sibbaldi *Bibl. Scot.* p. 224. Pont was the intimate friend of the Laird (does he need the false title of *Lord*, or the equivocal one of *Baron*?) of Merchiston:—"honouratum et apprime eruditum amicum nostrum fidelem Christi seruum *Joannem Naperum.*" (*De Sabbaticorum Annorum Periodis*, per Robertum Pontanum, Caledonium Britannum, p. 198. A° 1619.)

mic calculation; an invention which has contributed, perhaps more than any other, to extend the boundaries of knowledge, and to multiply discoveries in all branches of natural philosophy; and which, at the same time that it establishes the author's claim to genius, proves that he had devoted himself with the most persevering ardour to the study of mathematical science. Previously, indeed, to his making his great discovery, Napier was well known to his countrymen for his profound acquaintance with mathematics, his application of them to the improvement of the arts, and the curious and bold experiments which his active and inventive mind was continually prompting him to make*.

When the elder Scaliger visited Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century, it did not contain, according to his statement, more than one regular practitioner in Medicine. If we are to judge by this rule, the science must have made great advancement before the close of that century. At this time, however, and down to a much later period, the medical men of Scotland derived their professional knowledge almost entirely from foreign schools. Dr. Peter Lowe, who, after practising in various parts

* Skene, *De Verborum Significatione*, voc. *Particata*. Birrel's Diary, p. 47. Tilloch's *Philosophical Magazine*, vol. xviii. p. 53; where Napier's "Secret Inventions" are published, accompanied with observations, which go to prove that none of these inventions is incredible. Dempster says that Napier dissipated his fortune by his experiments.

of the continent, and being honoured with the appointment of Ordinary Surgeon to Henry IV. of France, returned to his native country before the year 1598, was the author of a system of Surgery, which exhibits a popular view of the art of healing in his time, interspersed with descriptions of cases which had occurred in his own practice *. Dr. Duncan Liddel, whose treatises on various subjects connected with medicine were well received on the continent, was prematurely cut off in the midst of his exertions for promoting science in his native country †.

Among the miscellaneous writers of this period, David Hume of Godscroft, one of Melville's early and most intimate friends, deserves to be particularly mentioned ‡. This accomplished and patriotic gentleman was extensively acquainted with ancient

* "The Whole Course of Chyrurgie—Compiled by Peter Lowe Scotchman. Arellian Doctor in the Facultie of Chirurgie in Paris—A^o 1607." In the Dedication of the 2d edition to "Gilbert Primrose Sergeant, Chirurgian to the Kings Majestie," &c. (dated "from my house in Glasgow the 20 day of December 1612,") he says: "It pleased his Sacred Majestie to heare my complaint, about some foureteene years agone, vpon certaine abusers of our Art—I got a priuiledge under his Highnesse priuie seale, to try and examine all men vpon the Art of Chirurgie, to discharge & allow in the West parts of Scotland which were worthy or unworthy to professe the same."

† Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 577. Principal Blackwell's Memorial. Liddelli Apotheosis: Delit. Poet. Scot. ii. 550. His "Disput. de Elementis" was printed at Helmstadt in 1596; and an edition of his works was published by L. Serranus, Lugd. Bat. 1624.

‡ He was the son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, and pro-

and modern languages, theology, politics, and history. His *Apologia Basilica* is a refutation of the celebrated *Princeps* of Machiavel, and shews that he was a true friend to monarchy, although he had repeatedly exerted himself to check its excesses by his sword and by his pen. Besides its genealogical information, his *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus* contains many useful illustrations of public events, and striking pictures of the manners of the times *. Though often incorrect and loose in its style, it is written with much spirit and

priotor of Godscroft in Lammermuir. In one of his Eclogues, he says :

haud frustra tot, docte Menalca,
Carmina fusa tibi : Late nemus omne resultat
Lætitiæ : nunc upilio, nunc ipse bibulus
Per juga *Lamyrii*, vel per juga montis *Ocelli*.

In the notes he subjoins the following explanation. “ *Lamyrii montes sunt in provincia Marchie, ubi villula scribentis Theager, vulgo Godscroft. Ocelli montes [Ochil hills] in Jernia forthe imminentes ad quorum radices est Val-acquila vulgo Gleneagles, ipsius nunc habitaculum.*” (*Daphn-Amaryllis, Authore Davide Humio Theagrio Wedderburnensi*, p. 17. Lond. 1605.) John Haldane of Gleneagles was married to his sister. (*Hist. of Douglas and Angus*, ii. 284.) In another of his works are poems by him inscribed “ *David Humius Pater*”—“ *Maria Jhonstona Mater*”—“ *Jacobus Jhenstonus, Elphistonius, Socer.*” (*Lvsvs Poetici*, pp. 50, 53.)

* Speaking of Hume, Mr. Pinkerton says : “ This writer, who composed his work about the year 1630, has often original and authentic information.” (*Hist. of Scotland*, i. 216.) It is true that Hume lived nearly to the year 1630, and might finish his *History* in his old age, but he was born between 1550 and 1560. Being the confidential adviser and agent, as well as the kinsman of Archibald (the third of that name) Earl of Angus, he had access to the family papers of that nobleman, and to other valuable sources of intelligence.

naiveté, and abounds with reflections, serious and amusing, political, moral and religious, which place the happy temper and virtuous dispositions of the author in a very favourable and pleasing light. The feudal ideas, which were general in his age, and the aristocratic feeling which he inherited as the descendant of an ancient family, are frequently blended with the principles of the reformer and advocate of political liberty, in a way which is both curious and amusing.

Poetry, in all its varieties, was zealously cultivated by our countrymen at this period. In richness of imagery and elegance of diction, Montgomery unquestionably carried away the palm from all his contemporaries who wrote in the Scottish dialect. Among those who devoted themselves to sacred poetry, Alexander Hume possesses the greatest merit. Like most of the poets of that time he is very unequal; but his versification is often fluent, and his descriptions lively and even vigorous*. The *Godly Dream* of Lady Culros younger is not destitute of fancy†. James Cockburne is the author of two scarce pieces, which discover a bold but unchastened imagination‡. As they have not been

* Hymnes or Sacred Songs.—Edinburgh, 1599.

† Of the same pious cast as the *Dream*, but inferior to it in versification, is "The Complaint of a Christian Soule.—Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Charters, 1610." 4to. C. 2. It is subscribed at the close: "M. George Muschet, Minister of the Evangell at Dunning."

‡ The first is entitled, "Gabriels Salvation to Marie. Made by James Cockburne." The second, "Jvdas Kisse to the Sonne of

noticed, so far as I know, by any of our writers, the reader may not be displeased to have the following specimen laid before him. It is part of a description of the scene in the garden of Gethsemane.

New had darke silent night, high treasons frend,
 Ouermantled all the earth in sable hew:
 Wrapt was the Moone in mist that latelie shynde,
 The fyrie lampes of heauen themselves withdrew:
 Horror and darknesse vyldie possess the skye,
 The fittest tyme for fouleest tragedye.

Within their wings sweete birds their billes they hide,
 Rockt with the windes on toppes of troubled trees:
 Feeld-feeding flocks to cliftes and caues they slide,
 Such was the raging of the roaring seyes:
 No sound of comfort sweete possess the eares,
 Saue Serpents hisse, and Crocodilishe teares.

In this sad season Jesus did attend
 His Fathers will, and those did him persew,
 Brooke Cedron corst, which way well Judas kend,
 As was his vse his prayers to renew:
 And to the Mount of Oliues he is gone,
 With aged Peter, James, and louing John.

O gardene gay, greene may thou euer grow,
 Let weeping dew refreshe thy withred flowres:
 To testifie the teares did ouerflow
 The cheekes of him refresht the hearts of ours.
 And for his sake thy name be euer neist
 In name to that sweet garden of the East.

The poets of Scotland anticipated their sovereign's accession to the throne of England, by adopting the

Marie." The imprint of each is "Edinbvrgh Printed by Robert Charteris—An. Dom. MDCV." 4to. The Dedication to "Jean Hamiltone, Ladie Skirling," is dated "from Cambusnethane." Prefixed are commendatory verses by "W. A. of Menstrie," i. e. William Alexander, afterwards created Earl of Stirling.

language of that kingdom; and their early efforts of this kind were very flattering. When Melville was removed from Scotland, Drummond of Hawthorn-den had but recently finished his academical studies *, and had not as yet discovered those talents which ranked him among the first of English lyric poets. But Sir Robert Ayton, and Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, had already given favourable specimens of their poetical talents. Another Scottish knight and courtier, Sir David Murray of Gorthy, deserves also to be mentioned for the success with which he wrote in English verse †.

* "*Gvilielmvs Drummond*" was laureated at Edinburgh in the year 1605. The regent of his class was Mr. James Knox. (Record of the Univ. of Edin.)

† "*The Tragickall Death of Sophonisba. Written by David Murray. Scoto-Brittain. Lond. 1611.*" 8vo.—Along with this was published, "*Cælia, containing certain sonnets.*"—"A Paraphrase of the civ. Psalme, by David Murray. Edinburgh, Printed by Andro Hart. Anno Dom. 1615." 4to. Sir David was Governor to Prince Henry. He was a son of Robert Murray of Abercairny, and brother of John Murray, minister of Leith, an intimate friend of Melville's. (Douglas's Baronage, p. 102. Melvini Epist. p. 151.) His Paraphrase begins thus :

My Soule praise thou *Iehouas* holie Name,
For he is great, and of exceeding Might,
Who cloth'd with Glorie, maiestie, and Fame,
And couered with the garments of the light,
The azure Heauen doth like a Curtaine spred,
And in the depths his chalmer beames hath layd.

The clouds he makes his chariot to be,
On them he wheelles the christall Skies about,

But perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of our literature at this period is the enthusiasm with which Latin poetry was cultivated by our countrymen. Divines, lawyers, physicians, country-gentlemen, courtiers and statesmen, devoted themselves to this difficult species of composition, and contended with each other in the various strains which the ancient masters of Roman song had employed. The principal poems in the collection entitled *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, were originally published, or at least written, at this time. They are of course possessed of very different degrees of merit, but of the collection in general we may say that it is equal to any of the collections of the same kind which appeared in other countries, except that which contains the Latin poems composed by natives of Italy. If this was not the classic age of Scotland, it was at least the age of classical literature in it; and at no subsequent period of our history have the languages of Greece and Rome been so successfully cultivated, or the beauties of their poetry so deeply felt and so justly

And on the wings of *Æolus*, doth Hee
At pleasour walke; and sends his Angels out,
 Swift Heralds that doe execute his will:
His words the heauens with fire lightnings fill.

The Earths foundation he did firmelie place,
And layd it so that it should neuer slyde,
He made the Depths her round about embrace,
And like a Robe her naked shores to hide;
 Whose waters would o'rflo the Mountains high,
But that they backe at his rebuke doe flie.

imitated. Besides Melville, the individuals who attained the greatest excellence in this branch of literature, were Sir Thomas Craig, Sir Robert Ayton, Hume of Godscroft, John Jonston, and Hercules Rollock. The poems of Craig do honour to the cultivated taste and learning of their author. Through the foreign garb in which Ayton chose most frequently to appear before the public as a poet, we can easily trace that elegant fancy which he has displayed in his English compositions. If I were not afraid of appearing to detract from the merit of one whose early productions secured the approbation of Buchanan, I would say that Rollock was better acquainted with the language than the spirit of the Roman poets. His description of the miseries of Scotland during the civil war is his most poetical performance *. John Jonston confined himself chiefly to the writing of epitaphs and short pieces, which he has executed with much neatness and elegant simplicity, although he falls short, even in this species of composition, of his kinsman, Arthur Jonston, in terseness and in classic point †. Few of his contemporaries shew a mind more deep-

* "I send you the papers of the late M. Hercules Rollock which you desired. And because I am not acquaint with Mr. Anderson, send me a receipt of them, either from you or him. Saumure, March 5, 1619." (Mark Duncan to Boyd of Trochrig: Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 80.)

† A very beautiful poem by John Jonston, entitled, *Mors Piorum*, is added, among others, to his work in prose, entitled, *Consolatio Christiana*, pp. 103—106. Lugd. Bat. 1609.

ly imbued with the genuine spirit of classical poetry than Hume of Godscroft. The easy structure of his verse reminds us continually of the ancient models on which it has been formed ; and, if deficient in vigour, his fancy has a liveliness and buoyancy which prevents the reader from wearying of his longest descriptions *.

I am aware that many entertain a very contemptuous opinion of all productions of the kind now mentioned. According to them it is utterly impracticable to write well, or at least to compose tolerable poetry, in a foreign or dead language. They are therefore disposed to discard the whole collection of modern Latin poetry, as unworthy of the name, and consisting merely of shreds from the classics patched into centos. That a great part of it is of this description cannot be denied. But those who are inclined to pronounce this censure indiscriminately upon the whole, would need to be sure that there is no risk of their being placed in the same

* Hume has given a specimen of a poem which he composed at fourteen years of age. (*Daphn-Amaryllis*, pp. 22—24.) And he refers to the presages which Buchanan formed from his early effusions. (*Delit.* i. 381.) His poem, entitled *Aselcanus*, is dedicated “*Ad Andreæm Melvinvm.*”—“*Patriæ alterû decus Melvine—delictorum veniam te peto literarium Dictatorem et nominatim iniquitatem illi.—Si condonas, condonata putem Musis et Apollini.—Vides quid tibi tribuam ; certè, quantum nec Romano pontifici in peccata, jus.*” (*Lvsus Poetici*, p. 85.) *Aselcane* was the name of one of Hume’s sons. (Record of the Kirk Session of Prestonpans. Gen. Reg. of Decrees, vol. cclx. July 3, 1617 ; and vol. cclxxxvii. August 11, 1619.) See under Note E.

awkward situation with certain scholars of no mean acquirements in former times, who had a modern poem passed on them for a genuine production of an ancient classic *. After the writings of Sannazarius, Flaminius, Muretus, Buchanan, De l' Hôpital, Douza, and Balde, not to mention many others scarcely inferior to them, it seems too late to come forward with the assertion, that it is impossible to produce tolerable Latin poetry in modern times. Indeed, considering the applause which these productions have received from the best judges, the assertion amounts to this, that we cannot now perceive the beauties of the classical poets of Rome. I have no doubt that if even the best of modern Latin poems had been submitted to the judgment of Horace, he would have found them chargeable with many blemishes which our eye cannot detect ; but I have as little doubt that, instead of rejecting them with the fastidious disdain of some recent critics, that master of the art of Poetry would have pronounced them wonderful efforts, and enlarged

* D'Alembert furnishes an instance somewhat different. In the course of his argument against the cultivation of an ancient learning, he had jeeringly repeated the exclamation of an enthusiast for the classics, *Ah ! had you but understood Greek !* But not contented with wielding the weapon of ridicule, he rashly ventured upon classical ground, and mentioned one Marinus, a modern writer in Latin, who, in his opinion, had "approached as near as possible to Cicero." One of D'Alembert's opponents, after producing examples of wretched Latinity from Marinus, concludes by turning the philosopher's sarcasm against himself: *Ah ! Sir, had you but understood Latin !* (Klotzii Acta Literaria, vol. v. part. iv. p. 446.)

in their favour, the indulgence which he was disposed to shew to the compositions of his contemporaries :

*Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis.*

There is one thing that is overlooked in the reasonings of many on this subject. They are not aware of the degree of attention which was paid to the Latin language, and the advantages which the learned had for attaining a perfect acquaintance with it, in the sixteenth century. The use of the vernacular tongues was strictly prohibited in all schools and colleges ; and from the age of six to sixteen the youth spoke and heard nothing but Latin. In their epistolary correspondence, and even in their ordinary conversation, the learned made use of the same medium of communication. They chose to write in it in preference to their native language ; and, judging from their compositions in both, it is evident they had a greater command of the former than of the latter.

The circumstance last mentioned furnishes one of the strongest objections against the practice in question. And it must be confessed, that it is much easier to prove that the writers of the sixteenth century attained to excellence in Latin composition, than it is to vindicate that engrossing attention to the language by which they were able to reach that excellence. It led them to neglect the cultivation and improvement of the vernacular lan-

guages. It tended to produce servile imitation, and to give a spiritless uniformity to literary productions. And by forming men of letters into a separate cast, it prevented them from exerting an influence over the minds of the people at large, and deprived literature of those advantages which flow from the free circulation of ideas and feelings among all classes of the community. But whatever disadvantages might result from this practice, we must not overlook the important advantages with which it was attended. We never ought to forget, that the refinement, and the science, secular and sacred, with which modern Europe is enriched, must be traced to the revival of ancient literature; and that the hid treasures could not have been laid open and rendered available, but for that enthusiasm with which the languages of Greece and Rome were cultivated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The passion for writing in these languages, in verse as well as in prose, is to be viewed both in the light of an effect and a cause of the revival of letters. When we consider the rude state in which the different languages of Europe then were, and that the number of readers in any country was extremely small, we will cease to wonder that men of letters should have chosen so generally and so long to make use of a highly cultivated tongue, recommended to them by so many powerful associations, and in which their writings could be read and understood by all the learned in every nation. Besides, the great attention paid to those studies, although it re-

tarded the improvement of modern languages, contributed ultimately to carry them to a higher pitch of cultivation than they would otherwise have attained. The accurate knowledge of the general principles of language which was thus acquired (and which cannot be so well acquired in any other way as by the study of dead or foreign languages) came to be applied to the vernacular tongues, which, at the same time that they were polished after the example, were enriched from the resources of the most refined and copious languages of antiquity. The writers of that age display an elegance of taste and an elevation of sentiment, which give them an unspeakable superiority over their predecessors, and which are to be ascribed in a great measure to their familiarity with the works of the ancients. Before passing a severe censure on the avidity with which ancient letters were then prosecuted, it would be but justice also to consider the important discoveries which were made at the same time, and the stimulus which was given to the human mind in the general search after truth. Nor should it be forgotten, that the study of the languages of Greece and Rome was combined with the study of the eastern tongues, which, in addition to its throwing much light on the sacred scriptures, laid open an entirely new field of taste and inquiry, has proved subservient to political purposes of the greatest magnitude, and promises to be still more extensively useful in promoting the improvement

and regeneration of the largest and most populous regions of the globe.

The general question respecting the advantages of classical learning is not now before us. Suffice it to say here, that the fears which have been expressed of its tendency to injure genius by checking originality of thought, and religion by begetting a spirit and ideas of an unchristian complexion, are in a great degree fanciful and exaggerated. Its principal opponents have not been found in the first ranks of genius, nor have they been distinguished for their attachment to Christianity. On the other hand, the greatest and best authors whom Britain has produced have been familiar with it; and although novelty and accidental causes may give a temporary fame to attempts which proceed on an avowed disregard of the works of the ancients, our fine writers will find it necessary at last to invigorate their genius, and purify their taste, by dipping in those fountains which helped to confer immortality on their predecessors.

The facts which have been pointed out in the course of this brief review, will, it is hoped, assist the reader in forming an idea of the state of our national literature at this period. They may perhaps convince him, that Scotland was not so late in entering on the career of literary improvement as is commonly imagined; that she had advanced, at the time of which we write, nearly to the same stage as the other nations of Europe; and that if she

did not afterwards make the progress which was to be expected, or if she retrograded, this is to be imputed to other causes than to want of spirit in her inhabitants, or to the genius of her ecclesiastical constitution.

In asserting that Melville had the chief influence in bringing the literature of Scotland to that pitch of improvement which it reached at this time, I am supported by the testimony of contemporary writers of opposite parties, as well as by facts which have been brought forward in the course of this work. The study of letters introduced by the Reformation, suffered a severe check from the confusions in which the country was involved for a number of years. Many of those who had the charge of education left the kingdom, and such as remained, being discouraged by want of support and patronage, desisted from their labours, or contented themselves with a perfunctory discharge of their duty, without making the exertions necessary for their own improvement and the advancement of knowledge. Attempts to effect a reform on the old literary establishments had repeatedly failed from want of zeal in the patrons, and prejudice or aversion to labour on the part of the teachers. The arrival of Melville imparted a new impulse to the public mind, and his high reputation for learning, joined to the enthusiasm with which he pleaded its cause, enabled him to introduce an improved plan of study into all the universities. By his instructions and his example, he continued and increased the impulse which he had at first given to the minds

of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged. And though he did not himself cultivate several of the branches of study which are included in the preceding sketch, yet he stimulated others to cultivate them, by the ardour with which he inspired their minds, and by the praises which he was always ready to bestow on their exertions and performances.

I conclude with a single remark, containing the chief reason which induced me to undertake this work, and to devote so much time and labour to its execution. If the love of pure religion, rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her Reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than ANDREW MELVILLE.

NOTES

TO

VOLUME SECOND.

NOTE A. p. 31.

ECCLESIASTICAL Rights of Professors of Divinity.—It was reported to the General Assembly in April, 1582, “that an eldership (presbytery) is begun already at St Andrews of pastours and teachers, bot not of those that hes not the cure of teaching.” (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 118, b.) By the General Assembly, May 1586, “It is found that all such as the scripture appoints governors of the Kirk of God, as namelie pastors, doctors, and elders, may convene to generall assemblies, and vote in ecclesiastical matters.” (Ibid. f. 139, b.) Being constituent members of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided, doctors or professors of divinity might be sent by them, as well as by their universities, as representatives to the General Assembly. In consequence of a complaint from the Synod of Fife that this right had been infringed, it was recognized anew by the Assembly which met at Holyroodhouse in the year 1602, and at which his Majesty was present. (Ibid. f. 203, a.) One reason of Rollock’s being admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh, soon after the meeting of the commissioners at St. Andrews, might be to exempt him from the restriction intended to be laid on all theological professors. On that occasion Bruce at first objected to receiving imposition of hands, as implying that he had not previously a valid call to the ministry. Patrick Symson, in a letter dated May 1, 1598, says: “I perceive that Mr Rob. Rollock stands much on the lacke of ordination in your ministry, which makes me marvail how he could call himself a minister of Christs Evangel at Ed. in his Analysis upon the Epistle to

the Romans, and in the mean time wanting ordination to that ministry, if this fform of ordination which we want be so essentiall as he speaks." (Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 35: MSS. vol. i.) But I do not think that Rollock, in 1593, when he published the book referred to, was a minister in the same sense as Bruce and Symson were: I mean that he was not properly the pastor of a Congregation. In consequence of a petition from the town, the presbytery had authorized him to preach the morning lecture in one of the churches. (Rec. of Presb. of Edin. Sept. 5, 1587.) But it was not till the beginning of the year 1598, that he "was admittit to be ane of the aught ordinar ministers of this burgh." (Reg. of Town Council, Jan. 25, 1597.)

NOTE B. pp. 35, 36.

Character of David Black.—Spotswood says, that "Mr. Black was summoned" before the commissioners. (Hist. p. 448.) But James Melville, who was one of the commissioners, says, "Mr. Robert Wallace was proceidit against and removit from St. And^m be sum form of kinglie commissione, proceeding and process. *Bot Mr. David Black was never ones called, and yet, of mere kinglie power, it behovit him to be debarrit St. And^m."* (Diary, p. 314.) Spotswood farther says, that "the elders and deacons of the church—all upon oath deponed that the accusations were true, and that Blake had spoken all that whereof he was convicted before the Council.—And they declared that both the one and the other were given to factions, and that they did not carry themselves with that indifferency which became preachers." Yet the archbishop had himself stated, a little before, that Black presented to the privy council, as a proof of the falsehood of the charges, two testimonials, the one subscribed by the provost, bailies, and council, and the other by the rector, dean of faculty, and professors of the university. (Hist. p. 425. Comp. Rec. of Privy Council, ult. Nov. 1596.) Now, several of the magistrates and of the professors were at that time members of session. But this is not all. The following extracts from the minutes of session prove that the elders and deacons felt the highest respect and regard for Black.

Die nono Januarii, 1596.

The qlk day, Mr. Robert Wallace, Mr. David Monypenny, and Mr. Robert Zule, ar ordenit to pas to y^e counsall of y^e toun and desyr ane supplication to his M. for relief of Mr. David Blak y^r pastor, and

als order to be takin for serving of Mr. David Blakeis cuir q^u he cum hame, and yat order may be taken wt y^e parochin q^u he cum hame q^ukis ar now all gane lous.

Die xix^{mo} Martii, 1596.

The qlk day y^e sessioun hes statut that y^e clerk uret ane bill and missive in y^r names to Mr. David Blak, y^r minister to gif him thankes for his last l^r of recommendatioun send be him to yame, as also to shaw him y^t y^e kinges ma. is desyrus to confer wt him, and y^t he send his awin supplicatioun to his ma. to obtain licens to cum to his ma. to y^t effect. And to schaw to y^e said Mr. David y^t q^t lyis in thair power to farther his hame cuming they sall do y^e samin wt his awin advys, and to schaw him y^e townis commissionaris, send to his ma. for his delyuerance, resauit y^e samin ans^r of his ma.

Supplicatione for Mr David Blak.

Die viii Maij, 1597.

The q^uk day, y^e sessioun of Sanctandros hes ordanit ane supplicatioun to be send to y^e generall assemblee convenit to morne at Dundie requesting thair godlie w. to interseid to his ma. to grant licens to Mr. David Blak thair [minister] to be restorit and admittit to cum hame to this citie to use his functioun of y^e ministrie as he was wont to do befor and becaus y^e bailzie and sum otheris of y^e elderis and deconis wes n^t present to consent heireto the sessioun ordanit Alex. Winchester, Martyn Lumadane, George Cristie, Robert W^msoun, & Charlis Watsoun clerk to pas wt y^e said supplicatioun to thame & otheris zealous men of this citie to inquire of thame to subscriyve y^e said supplicatioun, & request for y^e pastor aforessaid, & for his hame cuming again.

Melville's poem on Black's death may be seen in *Delit. Poet. Scot.* tom. ii. pp. 81—84. There are two encomiastic poems on him by Hume of Godscroft. (*Lusus Poetici*, pp. 53—55.) "Mr. David Black min^r of St. Andrews" obtained a decree for an "annual rent of aucht bolls victual—furth of the lands of lochschedis," which he inherited from "umqll Henry Blak burges of y^e bruch of Perth, father to the said complainer." (Act Buik of the Commissariot of St. Andrews, July 18, 1594.)

NOTE C. p. 75.

Basilicon Doron.—According to Spotswood, this work was shown to Melville in MS. and in consequence of extracts from it being laid

before the Synod of Fyfe, his Majesty published it in the course of that year, 1599. (Hist. p. 457.) But this is contradicted by the account which James has himself given in his apologetic preface to the second edition, and which I have followed in the text. I have now before me a copy of the first edition, belonging to Archibald Constable, Esq. Edinburgh; and I have no doubt that it is one of the *seven* copies (perhaps the only one now existing) to which that edition was limited. Its title is, "ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. Devided into three Bookes. Edinbvrgh, Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Majestie. 1599." X in fours. It is beautifully printed in a large Italic letter. Prefixed to it are two sonnets, the first of which, entitled "The Dedication of the booke," is not to be found in the subsequent editions. I have seen no reason to think that it was reprinted until 1603, in the course of which year it went through three editions; all of them, probably, published after the death of Elizabeth. If this was the fact, the wonderful influence which Spotswood says it had in promoting James's accession must have been *ex post facto*. I have not seen it mentioned between 1599 and 1603. One of the seven copies might be conveyed to some of the courtiers of Elizabeth in the secret correspondence which James carried on with them during that interval; but they had other reasons than his merits as an author for favouring his title.

On comparing the first edition with the subsequent ones, I find that alterations were made on the work. For though all the charges against the Scottish preachers are retained in substance, James found it necessary to drop or soften some of his most unguarded and harsh expressions, and to give an ambiguous turn to the sentences which had created the greatest offence. For example, in the original edition (pp. 8, 9,) he says: "If my conscience had not resolved me, all my religion was groundd upon the plaine words of the scripture, I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of the *vaine pride of some sedicious Preachours*." In the edition printed at London in 1603, (p. 5,) that sentence ends—"I had neuer outwardlie auowed it, for pleasure or awe of *any flesh*."—"The reformation of Religion in Scotland *being made by a popular tumult and rebellion* (as well appeared by the destruction of our policie) and not proceeding from the Princes ordour, &c." (P. 46, orig. ed.) "The reformation of Religion in Scotland, *being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherein many things w're inordinately done by a popolare tumult and rebellion of such as blindly were doing the worke of God but clogged with their own passions and particular respects,*" &c.

(P. 31, ed. 1603.)—"Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to *these* Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weill of *Scotland*; whom (*by long experience*) I have found, no deserts can oblish," &c. (P. 49, orig. ed.) "Take heed therefore (my Son) to *such* Pvritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weale, whom no deserts can oblige," &c. (P. 34, ed. 1603.) The following sentence of the original edition (p. 51,) was afterwards omitted: "And the first that railleth against you, punish with the rigour of the lawe; for I haue else in my days bursten them with ouer-much reason." The following sentence respecting those who "meddle with the policie in the pulpite," is also omitted: "But snibbe sukerlie the first minteth to it: And (if he like to appeale or declyne) when ye haue taken order with his heade, his brethren may (if they please) powle his haire and pare his nayles as the King my Grandefather said of a Priest." (Pp. 107, 108.) The following character of the Islanders of Scotland is dropped: "Thinke no other of them all, then as Wolues and Wild Boares." (P. 43.)

NOTE D. p. 302.

Writings of James Melville.—Under the year 1591, he gives the following account of what was most probably his first publication. "Then did I first put in Print some of my poesie, to wit, the description of the Spanyarts Naturall out of Jul^{us} Scaliger, wt sum exhortationes for warning of kirk and countrey." (Diary, p. 225.) In a short history of his life at Anstruther, prefixed to his Diary, he says: "In the year 1598 I cawsit print my Catechisme for the profit of my peiple and bestowit y^vpon fyve hunder marks quhilk God moved the hart of a maist godlie and lowing frind to frelie offer to me in len for y^t effect: of the [quhilk] I remean addettit, bot could never to my knowledge attain to a hunder marks again for the buiks." (Ib. p. 10.) This rare book was published under the following title: "A Spiritvall Propine of a Pastour to his People. Heb. 5. 12. You whom it behooued, &c. Jam. 1. 19, 21, 22. And sa my beloued brethren, &c. [Edinburgh, Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Maiestie, Cum Privilegio Regio *." It is in quarto, and consists of 127 pages. On the back of the title-page are "Contents of the Buik." The *Epistle Dedicatorie* is addressed "To the Reverende Fathers and Brethren, Elders of the Congregation of Kilrinny, and haill flocke committed to their gouvernement."—"Receiue Reue-

* The imprint is supplied from the title to the second part.

rende Fathers, louing brethren, and deir flock, this *Spirituell Propine*: contening in short summe the substance of that exercise of tryall, wherewith ye are acquainted in dayly doctrine, before ye communicate at the Table of the Lorde, togidder with the grounds of the doctrine of godlinesse and saluation, contruyed in a peece of not vnpleasand and verie profitable Poesie," &c. It is dated "From Ansteruther, the 20 day of Nouember, 1598. Your Pastor, louing and faithful be the grace of God vnto the death, JAMES MALVILL." Then follow sonnets, commendatory of the work, by M. R. D. [Mr. Robert Dury] M. I. D. [Mr. John Davidson] A. M. [Andrew Melville] M. I. I. [Mr. John Johnston] M. W. S. [Mr. William Scot] M. I. C. and M. I. C. [probably Mr. John and Mr. James Carmichael.] They are all in Scotch, except that subscribed A. M. which is in Latin, and accompanied with a translation, probably by James Melville. The first part of the work is in prose, and consists of prayers and meditations suited to different occasions, directions for self-examination, and "the forme of tryall and examination, taken of all sik as ar admitted to the Table of the Lord," in question and answer. The second part is in poetry, and is introduced by the following title: "A Morning Vision: or Poem for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith and Repentance: Wherein the Lords Prayer, Beleeffe, and Commands, and sa the whole Catechisme, and right vse thereof, is largely exponed." It is prefaced by a metrical dedication to "James the Sext, King of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in his language;" and contains, among other devotional and moral pieces, a singular composition, set to music, and entitled, "Celeusma Nauticvm: The Seamans Shovte or mutuall exhortation, to ga forward in the spirituall voyage."

In giving an account of treatises against the imposition of prelacy on the Church of Scotland, Row says: "I have also seen a little poem in print, called the *Black Bastill, or a Lamentation of the Kirk of Scotland*, compiled by Mr. James Melville, sometime Minisr at Anstruther and now confyned in England, 1611." (Hist. pp. 311, 312.) I have not met with a copy of the printed work, but a MS. volume, communicated to me by Robert Graham, Esq. contains a poem which I have no doubt is a transcript of that to which Row refers. It is entitled, *The Blackbastall*, and consists of 93 stanzas. Prefixed to it is the date, "November, 1611."

The following stanzas form part of the exordium.

The air was cleart wt quhyt and sable clouds,
 Hard froist, wt frequent schours of hail and snow,
 Into y^e nicht the stormie vind with thouds
 And balfoull billows on y^e sea did blaw :
 Men beastis and foulls vnto thair beilds did draw ;
 Fain than to find the fruct of simmer thrift,
 Quhen clad with snaw was sand, wodd, crag and clift.

I satt at fyre weill guyrdit in my gown,
 The starving sparrows at my window cheipid,
 To reid ane quhyle I to my book was boun :
 In at ane panne, the pretty progne peipped,
 And moved me for fear I sould haue sleiped,
 To ryse and sett ane keasment oppen wyd,
 To sie give robein wald cum in and byde.

Puir progne, sueitlie I haue hard ye sing
 Thair at my window one the simmer day ;
 And now sen wintar hidder dois ye bring
 I pray y^e enter in my hous and stay
 Till it be fair, and than thous go thy way,
 For trewlie thous be treated courteouslie
 And nothing thrallid in thy libertie.

Cum in, sueit robin, welcum verrilie,
 Said I, and down I satt me be the fyre,
 Then in cums robein reidbreist mirrelie
 And souppis and lodgis at my harts desyre :
 But one y^e morne I him perceaved to tyre ;
 For phebus schyning sueitlie him allurd.
 I gaue him leif, and furth guid robein furd.

The poet betakes himself to his meditations, and sees " full cleirlic
 in ane visioun,"

Ane woman with ane cumlie countenance,
 With ferdit face and garisch in attyre.
 Ane croun of glas vpone hir heid did [glance],
 Hir clothes war collourit contrair hir [desyre],
 Ane heaue yock layd on hir neck and [lyre],

Of reid ane scepter in hir hand she buir :
In riche aray yit sillie, leane and puir.

Hoised up one hie upone a royal throne
Thair feirclie satt abone the woman's head
(Which held hir under feir and all undone
As presoner) ane rampand Lyon reid :
This lyon craftie foxes tua did leid :
And round about hir threttein wolves danced,
To haue the keeping of hir scheip advanced.

After the leopard, "the Lyons grit lieutenant," (the Earl of Dunbar,) has fenced the court, and a wolf, "clad in silk," has made "ane preitching all of woll and milk," the Lion (the King) is declared supreme, and at his will and pleasure the wolves (the bishops) are set over the flock ; on which the captive lady breaks out into a "heavie Lamentation," which occupies the rest of the poem.

In the same MS. is another poem (of 69 stanzas) on the same subject with the preceding, evidently composed by James Melville, and entitled, "Thrie may keip counsell give twa be away ; or Eusebius, Democritus, Heraclitus." Democritus says :

I laucht to sie how lords ar maid of louns,
And how thai ar intretted in our touns.
Quher sumtyme thai war fain for to retein thame
For rocks and stoannes of wyffis that came so near thame.
I laucht to sie thame now sett ouer the flocks
Who came to cowrt with thair auld mullis and sockis,
Quher thai war nocht regairdit with ane sows
By king, by cowrt, nor any of his hous.

I laucht how Jon and George, who war most sclandrous,
Ar lords advanced of Glasgow and St Androus ;
How William, Androu, Sanders, and the laif,
By perjurie and playing of the knaif,
Ar styllit in God our fathers reuerend,
Who scarrs amongs our pastours trew war kend,
And justlie so, for now ar thai declynd
And ar becum men of contrarie mynd.

The Reverend William Blackie, minister of Yetholm, possessed a manuscript volume, which he has deposited in the Advocates Library.

It consists of poems in the Scottish language by James Melville, and in the handwriting of the author. They appear to have been all written by him during his banishment. The greater part of them are expressive of his feelings on the overthrow of the liberties of the Church of Scotland, and the imprisonment and banishment of his uncle. "A Preservative from Apostacie, or the Song of Moses, the servant of God, Deut. xxxii. with short notes, translated out of Hebrew and put in metre," is dedicated "to the Church of Scotland in generall, and the people of the paroch of Kilrennie in speciall." Then follows a long sonnet, entitled, "The Wandering Sheepe, or David's Tragique Fall." The last poem in the volume is "The Reliefe of the Longing Soule: The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's, expounded by a large paraphrase of metre for memorie and aften meditatioun." Prefixed to it is a dedication: "To his lowing sister in Jesus Christ, M. Nicolas Murray, grace, mercy and peace be multiplied.—London, Novemb. 8, 1606. Yⁿ much bound in Christ, JAMES MELVILL." The following are specimens of the poetry in this volume.

To Mr. Andrew Melvin.

O matchles Melvin, honour of our lands!
 How are we grieved and gladit with thy bands!
 We grieve to see sic men comitt as thee,
 We joy to hear how constantly thou stands
 Pleading the cause of God cast in thy hands
 Against this bastard brood of Bischoprie,
 Whais ydle rites, pompe, pryd and graceless glore,
 Justlie thou haits; hait still, hait more and more.

Happie, thryse happie, Melvine, thoch in warde,
 Men loves thy cause, God has it in regarde,
 No prisone can thy libertie restraine
 To speak the right, but * flatterie or but fairde,
 Pure, plain, not mingled, maimed or impairde.
 No brangled titles can thy honour staine,
 Thy tell-treuth fervent freedom wha would blame,
 'Wrays but his awin fals, faint, or servile shame.

* Without.

AT MR. ANDREW MELVING'S GOING TO FRANCE, APRIL 1611.

Mond à l'envers.

No marvell Scotland thow be like to tyn,
For thou hes lost thy honey and thy wine,
Thy strength, thy courage, and thy libertie,
Went all away, when as he went from thee.
In learning, upright zeall, religion trew,
He maister was, but now bid all a Dieu,
Be mute, you Scottish muses: no more verse!
But sobbing say, Le mond est à l'envers.

In the MS. volume entitled, *Melvini Epistolæ*, is a translation into English verse of part of the *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Marcellus Palingenius: "Dedicat to the E. of D.;" that is, the Earl of Dunbar. It contains only *Aries* and part of *Taurus*. There can be no doubt of its being the work of James Melville. The MS. is in his handwriting, and on the margin is a number of variations.—His apology for the Church of Scotland does not appear to have been printed till many years after his death: "Ad Serenissimum Jacobum Primum Britanniarum Monarcham, Ecclesiæ Scotticæ libellus supplex, ἀπολογητικὸς καὶ ἰλαστικός. Auctore Jacobo Melvino Verbi Dei Ministro, Domini Andree Melvini τῷ πατρὶ nepote. Londini,—1645." 8vo. In the Advocates Library are two poems in MS., "Funeral Tears," and a "Dialogue," on the death of James Melville, written by Thomas Melville." (Jac. V. 7. no. 6, 7.) I subjoin the epitaph on him by his uncle, printed at the end of the last mentioned book, which is rare.

Epitaphium Auctoris, à Domino
Andrea Melvino conscriptum.

Chare nepos, de fratre nepos, mihi fratre, nepote
Charior, et quicquid fratre nepote queat
Charius esse usquam; quin me mihi charior ipso,
Et quicquid mihi me charius esse queat.
Consiliis auctor mihi tu, dux rebus agendis,
Cum privata, aut res publica agenda fuit.
Amborum mens una animo, corde una voluntas,
Corque unum in duplici corpore, et una anima.

Vnà ambo vexati odiis inmanibus, ambo
 Dignati et Christi pro grege dura pati.
 Dura pati, sed iniqua pati, sub crimine ficto,
 Ni Christum, et Christi crimen amare gregem.
 Qui locus, aut quæ me hora tibi nunc dividat, idem
 Hic locus, hæc me eadem dividat hora mihi.
 Tune tui desiderium mihi triste relinquas?
 Qui prior huc veni, non prior hinc abeam?
 An sequar usque comes? sic, sic iuvat ire sub astra.
 Tecum ego ut exul eram, tecum ero et in patria.
 Christus ubi caput, æternam nos poscit in aulam,
 Arctius ut jungat nos sua membra sibi.
 Induviis donec redivivi corporis artus
 Vestiat, illustrans lumine purpureo.
 Æternum ut patrem, natumque et flamen ovantes,
 Carmine perpetuo concelebremus, Io.

NOTE E. p. 328.

Writings of Andrew Melville.—I subjoin a list of his printed works.

1. "Carmen Mosis—Andrea Melvino Scoto Avctore. Basileæ. M.D. LXXIII." 8vo. (See above, vol. i. pp. 86—90.)

2. "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣΚΙΟΝ. Ad Scotiæ Regem, habitum in Coronatione Reginæ.—Per Andreæ Meluinum.—Edinbvr̃gi 1590." 4to. (See above, vol. i. pp. 301, 462.)

3. "Carmina ex Doctissimis Poëtis Selecta, inter quos, quædam Geo. Buchanani et And. Melvini inseruntur. 1590." 8vo. (Ruddimanni Bibl. Roman. p. 71.)

4. "Principis Scoti-Britannorvm Natalia. Edinbvr̃gi—1594." 4to. (See above, vol. i. p. 376.)

5. "Theses Theologicæ de libero arbitrio. Edinburgi, 1597." 4to. (Sibbald, de Script. Scot. p. 42.) These might be the *Theses* of some of his students.

6. "Scholastica Diatriba de Rebvs Divinis ad Anquirendam et inveniendam veritatem, à candidatis S. Theol. habenda (Deo volente) ad d. xxvi. et xxvii. Julij in Scholis Theologicis Acad. Andreanæ, Spiritu Sancto Præsidente. D. And. Melvino S. Theol. D. et illius facultatis Decano moderante. Edinbvr̃gi, Excudebat Robertus Waldegræue Typographus Regius 1599." 4to. Pp. 16. (In Bibl. Col. Glasg.)

7. "Gathelus, seu Fragmentum de origine Gentis Scotorum." This poem was first printed along with "Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historiæ Regum Scotorum. Amstel. 1602."

8. "Pro supplici Evangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia—Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Authore A. Melvino. 1604." (See above, vol. ii. p. 104.)

9. Select Psalms turned into Latin verse, and printed (probably at London) in 1609. (See above, vol. ii. p. 216.)

10. "Nescimus Quid Vesper Servs Vehat. Satyra Menippæa Vincentii Liberii Hollandii. MDCXIX." 4to. Pp. 35. Another edition was published in the year 1620. A copy of each is in the British Museum. On the back of the title is a letter, "Liberius Vincentius Hollandus Francisco de Ingenuis S. P. D." dated "Amstelodami iv. Idus Sept. Anno a Christo nato M.DC.XIX." I have not seen this work, but from extracts which have been communicated to me, it appears to be a satire partly in prose and partly in verse, and refers much to the affairs of Venice. This last circumstance, taken in connexion with Melville's advanced age, excites a suspicion that he was not the author. And yet if he was not, it is strange that it should have been so generally ascribed to him both by Scottish and foreign writers. (Barbier, *Dict. des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes*, tom. iii. p. 489. Charters's *Accp. of Scots Divines*, p. 4.) It has also been ascribed to Nicholas Crassus, a Venetian.

11. "Viri clarissimi A. Melvini Mvæ et P. Adamsoni Vita et Palinodia et Celsæ commissionis—descriptio. Anno M.DC.XX." 4to. Pp. 67. Melville was not consulted in the publication of these poems, nor was he the author (as has often been inaccurately stated) of the tracts added to them. In the epistle to the reader, the publisher says: "quia absque eius venia; gratum illi an futurum sit hoc meum studium nescio."—"Est vir iste clarissimus omni invidia et exceptione major: virosque illustres. Josephum Scaligerum, Theodorum Bezan et alios habet laudum præcones: non ideo opus est illi meo encomio. Tantum *descripsi* vitam Adamsoni," &c.—John Adamson (afterwards Principal of the College of Edinburgh) was employed in collecting Melville's fugitive poems, (see above, p. 317,) but whether he or Calderwood was the publisher of the *Muse*, I cannot determine.

12. "De Adiaphoris. Scoti τῶν εὐχρηστικῶν Aphorismi. Anno Domini 1622." 12mo. Pp. 20. (In *Bibl. Jurid. Edin.*)

13. "Andree Melvini Scotiæ Topographia." This poem is prefixed to the *Theatrum Scotiæ* in *Bleau's Atlas*. "'Tis Buchanan's

prose turn'd into elegant verse ;" says Bishop Nicholson. (Scot. Hist. Lib. p. 18.) In a letter to Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, " ult. decemb. 1655," J. Bleau acknowledges a letter from him containing " les corrections du vers de Melvinus." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 3. 19. num. 35.)

Melville was a large contributor to a collection of poems, by Scotchmen and Zealanders, " In Obitum Johannis Wallasii Scoto Belgæ—Ludg. Batav. 1603." 4to. There are two poems by him in John Jonston's " Sidera Veteris Ævi," p. 33 ; a work which was published along with his " Iambi Sacri," and his " Cantica Sacra Novi Testamenti—Salmurii 1611." He has also verses prefixed to " Comment. in Apost. Acta M. Joannis Malcolmi Scoti—Middelb. 1615." Malcolm, in his Dedication to the King, and in the body of the work (p. 264,) defends Melville with much freedom, and laments his removal from Scotland.

Among his works in manuscript are the following :

1. " D. Andreæ Melvini epistolæ Londino e turri carceris ad Jacobum Melvinum Nouocastri exulantem scriptæ, cum ejusdem Jacobi nonnullis ad eundem. Annis supra millesimū sexcentessimo octavo, nono, decimo, undecimo. Item Ecclesiæ Scoticæ Oratio Apologetica ad Regem An. 1610, mense Aprilis." This volume (which is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh) brings down the correspondence between Melville and his nephew till the end of the year 1618. It belonged to James Melville, and is partly in his handwriting. Before his death he committed it to the care of his friend, Sir Patrick Hume of Ayton, who has inserted the following note : " Hic visū est inserte (*sic*) paraliepomena quædam ejusdem et aliorū quorū *αυτοχότως* cum libellis ipsis ipse mihi cōmendavit author paulo ante obitū. Pa Hume."

2. " Letters from Andrew Melville to * * * * in the United Provinces." (In Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 42.) They are six in number, and were addressed to Robert Dury at Leyden.

3. " Floretum Archiepiscopale ; id est, errores Pontificii, assertiones temerariæ, et hyberbolice interpretationes." (Ibid. num. 47.) They are extracted from archbishop Adamson's academical prelections at St. Andrews, in Melville's handwriting, and subscribed by him.

4. Paraphrasis Epistolæ ad Hebræos Andreæ Melvini." (Harl. MSS. num. 6947. 9. It is a metrical paraphrase of the whole epistle, and was most probably composed in the Tower.

5. "A. Melvinus in Cap. 4. Danielis." (In Bibl. Col. S. Trinit. Dublin.) This I have not seen.

There are verses by him, in his own handwriting, among the Sem-pill Papers (MS. in Arch. Eccl. Scot. vol. xxviii. num. 7;) and in a collection of Letters from Learned Men to James VI. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.) On a blank leaf at the beginning of a copy of *Aulus Gellius* (transmitted to me by Dr. Lee) there is a poem written, with this title: "Canticum Mariæ, paraphrasticos expressum, a D. Andrea Melvino Scoto." I have not seen it elsewhere. It is followed by poems of Buchanan, all of which have been published. The volume bears this inscription, among others: "Liber Magri Gulielmi Guildes. 1610."—Copies of Melville's large *Answer to Downham's Sermon* were at one time not uncommon. In enumerating the writers in defence of ruling elders, a foreign divine mentions "Ex Scotis, And. Melvinus in MS. refut. concionis Downhamii." (Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. ii. p. 458.) It is also mentioned by Charters. (Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 4.) Charters says that there is a copy of a Latin commentary by him in the Library of the Students of Divinity at Edinburgh. "I have seen also in the library of the College of Glasgow, a large folio, entitled, *Prælectiones in Epistolam ad Romanos*, in small write, said to be writ by Mr. Melvil." (Wodrow's Life of Mr. Andrew Melville, p. 111.) Neither of these MSS. is now to be found. Five poems "ex Musis Andreæ Melvini, viri clarissimi et undiquaque doctissimi," are appended by Dr. Koelman of Utrecht to his Dissertation, *De Diebus Festis*. Traj. ad Rhenum, 1693.

In *Biographical Memoranda*, No. iii. p. 108, printed at Bristol in 1814, an English "Poem by A. Melvin" is given from a MS. in the possession of the editor. On inspecting that MS. I find that the poem is by George Herbert.

Besides those formerly mentioned, encomiastic verses on Melville were written by David Wedderburn, (*Musæ Sacræ*, tom. i. p. xlvii.) by John Dunbar, (Epigr. p. 29,) by John Leech, (Epigr. p. 86,) by James Wright, (Poemat. præf. Strangio, De Interpret. Scripturæ,) and by Leon. Moyartus, (*Lachrymæ Zelandicæ in Obitum Joan. Wallasii*.)

Four letters from Melville to David Hume of Godscroft are prefixed to the *Lusus Poetici* of the latter. They afford specimens of his humour as well as proofs of the intimate friendship which subsisted between him and Hume. One of them is subscribed, "*Plus fellis, quam mellis;*" which shews that the play on his name, with

which episcopalian epigrammatists have diverted themselves so much, was not the invention either of Dr. Duport or bishop Barlow. James Hume, the son of the poet, is the author of various works on arithmetic and mathematics. In the edition of his father's poems, published by him at Paris in 1639, he has inserted several epigrams against Melville, with answers to them by his father. In a note to the latter, he says: "*Scriptis author alia duo Epigrammata ad Melvinū; sed, quia nimis acerba in Episcopos Anglicanos, omisimus.*" (Dav. Humii Lusus Poet. p. 114.) From this it appears that the editor was a politician as well as a mathematician.

I have a copy of Buchanan's History, with marginal notes in Melville's handwriting. In one of these, so far as I can make sense of it, (for part of it has been cut off) he traces his own descent from the royal families of Scotland and England, in the way of stating that he was sprung from Queen Jane, the wife of James I. by her second husband, Sir James Stewart, surnamed the *Black Knight*. On the title-page of the dialogue *De Jure Regni*, he has written these lines:

Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
Perditus ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?

Did he intend this to apply to Buchanan and his royal pupil?

NOTE F. p. 341.

University of St. Andrews.—At the opening of the classes in 1411, Bishop Wardlaw, with the concurrence of James Bisset, prior of the Abbey of St. Andrews, and Thomas Stewart, archdeacon of Lothian, granted to the masters and students the privileges belonging to a university, and applied in the usual way to the pope for a confirmation of what he had done. Besides the bull founding the university, which was issued on the 27th of August, 1413, Benedict XIII. signed on the same day five other bulls securing its rights.

The university laboured under no want of teachers at its commencement. Before the papal bulls were executed, Laurence Lindores, as professor of divinity, began to read the fourth book of the Sentences. Richard Corvel, John Litstar, John Scheves, and William Stephani or Stevenson, appeared as lecturers on canon law. And John Gyll, William Fowlis, and William Crosier, taught the arts of philosophy. This is the account given by Fordun. (*Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. cap. 22.) Hector Boethius makes Laurence Lindores professor of laws, and Richard Corveil doctor of decretals. (*Hist. Scot.* lib. xvi.) Spotswood, though he refers to Boethius as his authority,

gives a different statement; making Scheves, Stephen, and Lister readers in divinity, Lendors in canon law, and Cornwall in civil law. (Hist. p. 57.)

The first professors appear to have had no salaries. The revenues of the university for some time consisted chiefly of small sums received from the students at their admission and graduation; and the greater part of these was applied to the defraying of the common expenses. The classes were at first taught in such places of the city as were found most convenient. Robert de Montrose gave a house for the students of theology to meet in, which was at a subsequent period converted into the public library. And bishop Kennedy appropriated to the classes of philosophy certain buildings in the neighbourhood, which retained the name of the *Pædagogium* until it was erected into a college under the designation of St. Mary's. (Hovei Oratio.)

James I. who, in recompence of his long captivity, had received a good education in England, patronised the newly erected university after his return to Scotland. Besides confirming its privileges by a royal charter, he assembled those who had distinguished themselves by teaching, and by the progress which they had made in their studies, and after conversing familiarly with them, and applauding their exertions, rewarded them according to their merit with offices in the state or benefices in the church. (Fordun. Hovei Orat. Buch. Hist. p. 190. edit. Rudd.)

NOTE G. p. 342.

Colleges at St. Andrews.—I shall give here some more minute facts as to each of these according to the order of time in which they were erected.

St. Salvator's College.—This college, which was founded by James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1450, received from its founder a new and more improved form in 1458. It consisted of three professors of divinity, called the provost or principal, the licentiate, and the bachelor; four masters of arts, who were also in priest's orders; and six poor scholars or clerks, making in all thirteen persons, according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour, in honour of whom the college was named. The provost was bound to read lessons in theology once a-week, the licentiate thrice a-week, and the bachelor every *readable* day: the first, to preach to the people four times, and the second, six times a-year. From the four masters of arts, two at least were to be annually chosen as regents, the one to teach logic, and the other physics and metaphysics, according to the method of the schools and the statutes of

the university. The college was liberally endowed by the founder for the support of the masters and scholars; besides the altarges subsequently founded by other individuals. The provost had the rectory of Cults conferred on him, the licentiate the rectory of Kembach, and the bachelor that of Denino; parish churches in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, the revenues of which they drew, after appropriating a certain part of the emoluments to the respective vicars. The rectory of Kilmany was appropriated for the common support of the founded persons, and of the servants attached to the establishment, in victuals, &c. The strictest rules were laid down as to the behaviour of all the members, and as to the religious exercises, as well as the studies, of those who were admitted to the benefits of the institution. Young men of rank or opulence, who might choose to study in the college, and to pay for their board, were bound to obey the provost, and to submit in all things to the rules of the house equally as the bursars or poor scholars.

Bishop Kennedy was careful to have his college provided with the most able teachers. With this view he called home John Athelmer who had been educated at St. Andrews, but was then in the university of Paris, and placed him in the situation of provost or principal. To him he joined Thomas Logy, who had already filled the office of rector of the university, and James Ogilvy, as second and third masters or professors of divinity. Mr. Jo. Athelmer was presented to the "parochie church of Qhylt" (Cults) March 25, 1450. He is often mentioned as Dean of Theology. "Mr Jo. Almer, præpositus Collegii Sti Salv." occurs in the records as late as 1473. James Ogilvy seems to have been the same person, who, on account of his great learning and virtue, was designed for bishop of St. Andrews by the General Council of Basil, and who afterwards taught theology in the University of Aberdeen. (*Boetii Vitæ Abredonens. Episcop. fol. xxvii. b.*)

St. Leonard's College—Adjoining to the church of St. Leonard, and within the precincts of the Abbey, was an ancient hospital for the reception of pious strangers who came in pilgrimage to visit the relics of St. Andrew, being attracted by the fame of the miracles wrought by them. "The miracles and pilgrimages having ceased in process of time, as may be believed," the hospital was converted into a receptacle for aged women. But the patrons, not being satisfied with the conduct of the new objects of their charity, resolved to convert the hospital, with the adjoining church, into a College, "for training up poor scholars in

learning and the arts, to the glory of God and the spiritual edification of the people." This was called the *College of St. Leonard*. The charter of foundation was executed in 1512, by John Hepburn, prior of the Abbey, and confirmed by archbishop Alexander Stewart, and by King James IV. The prior and conventual chapter were patrons of this College, and retained the power of visiting it and reforming its abuses. The teachers were always taken from the monastery. Dr. Howie, in his Oration frequently quoted, has stated that John Annand was the first principal of St. Leonard's College; and Boece has done the same. (Vit. Episc. Abred. xxvii.) But Alexander Young was principal down to 1517; Gavin Logie in 1523—1537; Thomas Cunninghame in 1538; and John Annand in 1544. (Transumptum Foundationis; and subscriptions to the Statutes in the last mentioned year.) Gavin Logie is the person known for his early partiality to the Reformation. (Life of Knox, vol. i. Note I.) Annand was probably the person who disputed with Knox at St. Andrews. (Ibid. p. 58.) This College was intended for the support and education of twenty poor scholars. The principal was appointed to read on two days of every week a lecture on the Scriptures, or on speculative theology, to the priests, regents, and others who chose to attend. And by a subsequent regulation an additional salary was appointed to be given to two of the four regents, provided they chose to read, twice or thrice in the week, a lecture on the Scriptures, or on the Master of Sentences. (Papers of University.)

It was required of those who were admitted to St. Leonard's College, that, besides being of good character, acquainted with grammar, and skilled in writing, they should be sufficiently instructed in the *Gregorian song*,—"cantuque Gregoriano sufficienter instructum." (Papers of University.) The religious of the Priory of St. Andrews were always celebrated for their skill in music, and singing formed one of the regular exercises of the students. (Boetii Abredon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxvi.) Individuals who had belonged to it were employed in composing the music used in churches after the Reformation. (Old Music Book, MS.)

St. Mary's, or New College.—There were still in the university professors and students who did not belong to either of the colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard. These continued to teach in the Pædagogium, although they were not formed into a college, and had but slender funds. Archbishop Alexander Stewart, who has been highly commended by Erasmus for his literary attainments, intended to give it a collegiate form, and with

this view he not only repaired the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, which served as a place of worship to the pædagogium, but also bestowed on it the living of the church of St. Michael de Tarvet, in the neighbourhood of Cupar in Fife. In the deed of annexation it is said, that the pædagogium of the university "lay almost extinct in consequence of the deficiency of funds and of learned men;" and that the archbishop, with the consent of his chapter, had resolved to "endow and erect it into a college, to the praise of God, the defence of the faith, the increase of learned men, and the salvation of the souls of the king, his predecessors and successors, the archbishops of St. Andrews, and all the faithful." The premature death of the primate, who soon after fell in the field of Flowden, appears to have defeated this annexation, and prevented the erection of the college. It was not to be expected that the pædagogium would rival colleges which were provided with extensive funds and accommodations both for masters and scholars. But it continued to have regents and a principal; and several distinguished individuals, among whom were George Buchanan, received their education in it, while it remained on its original footing. Archbishop James Beaton resumed the design of his predecessor, and obtained a bull from Pope Paul III. authorizing him to erect buildings for a college and chapel, under the name of the Assumption of St. Mary, in which grammar, logic, theology, medicine, and law, both canon and civil, should be taught, divine offices performed, and a collegial table provided from the rents of certain benefices which were united and annexed to the institution. The buildings which were begun on the site of the pædagogium by archbishop Beaton were carried on by his nephew and successor, the Cardinal. But the college was not finally erected until 1554, after archbishop Hamilton had obtained a papal bull from Julius III. by which he was authorized to alter at his pleasure the arrangements made by his predecessor.

By the foundation of bishop Hamilton, *St. Mary's College*, or, as it was often called, the *New College*, was provided with four principal professors, denominated the provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist; eight students of theology; three professors of philosophy and two of rhetoric and grammar; sixteen students of philosophy; a provisor, cook, and janitor; and five vicars pensionary. The principal, besides exercising the ordinary jurisdiction of the college and presiding at the theological disputations once a-week, was to read a lecture on the sacred Scriptures, or to preach, every Monday. The licentiate was to read a lecture on the Scriptures four times,

and the bachelor five times a-week. And the canonist was to lecture on canon law five times every week. It was also the duty of each of these professors to say mass at stated times. It behoved the students of divinity to be in priest's orders and initiated into theology, "so as to have answered thrice in public, and given specimen of their erudition according to the custom of the university." They were bound regularly to attend the lectures of the three theological professors, to answer publicly to the difficulties of Scripture every holiday, to say mass, and to preach thrice a-year in public. Their continuance in this situation was limited to six years; for it was expected, "that by the divine blessing, and their assiduity, they shall within this period be fit for becoming Licentiates in theology, and for discharging higher offices." The three professors of philosophy were to teach logic, ethics, physics, and mathematics, at the direction of the principal; and the orator and grammarian were, at the same direction, to interpret the most useful authors in their respective faculties. And they were not to hold their places above six years, or the time during which they taught two courses, unless they received a new appointment. It behoved the students of philosophy, before their admission, to be initiated into grammar and the Latin tongue, so as to be able to express themselves properly in that language at disputations and examinations; to swear that they had no benefice or patrimony to support them, and to supplicate, for the love of God, to be admitted to the place of poor students. Each of them in order was bound to awake all the domestics at five in the morning, and furnish lights to such as wished them. The professors, regents, and students, were to wear capes after the Parisian manner; and all the scholars, including the noble and wealthy, as well as the bursars, were to wear gowns bound round them with a girdle, to which the bursars were to add a black hood. By the bull of Julius III. as well as that of Paul III. the college had the power of conferring degrees in all the faculties; and the jurisdiction over the bursars belonged to the principal, from whom an appeal lay to the archbishop and the pope, to the exclusion of the rector of the university or any other judge, even in the second instance. The college was provided with ample funds. The revenues of four parish churches, Tynninghame, Tannadice, Inchebriok, (including Craig and Pert) and Conveth or Laurence-kirk, were appointed for its support; in addition, as it would appear, to what had formerly belonged to the Pædagogium. (*Fundatio et Erectio Novi Collegii.*)

Some of the professors of the New College, nominated by archbishop Beaton, including the principal, had previously been teachers in the *Pædagogium*. The instrument of Presentation and Investiture, Feb. 8, 1538, appoints "*Magistrum Robertum Bannerman*, pro theologo et primario dicti collegii de assumptione beatæ Mariæ Et pro sub-principali *Mag^{rm} David Guynd* pro Canonista *Mag^{rm} Thomam Kyncragy* pro civilista *Mag^{rm} Johem Gledstanis* Item pro regentibus artium et studentibus in theologia *Magistros Andream Kynninmond*, *Johannem Forbous* *Wilhelmum Young* et *Walterum Fethy*." Those whose names are printed in Italics had previously been teachers in the *Pædagogium*.

Archbishop Hamilton, in his foundation, omitted civil law and medicine, which his predecessors had appointed to be taught. But, upon the whole, his arrangements appear to have been adapted to the means of instruction which he had in his power; and in several points they indicate a due attention to the progress which learning had made since the erection of the two other colleges. He was equally attentive in providing the college with professors. Archibald Hay, who was made principal soon after Cardinal Beaton's death, appears to have excelled most of his countrymen at that time in learning and liberal views. During his residence in the College of Montagus at Paris, he published a panegyric oration on archbishop Beaton's advancement to the purple. It is entitled, "*Ad Illustriss. Tit. S. Stephani in Monte Cœlio Cardinalem D. Davidem Betonum—Gratulatorius Panegyricus Archibaldi Hayi. Parisiis 1540.*" It is in 4to. and ends on fol. LXVI. On the title-page is a motto in Greek and in Hebrew. The dedication to the Cardinal is subscribed "*addictissimus Consobrinus vester Archibald Hayus.*" In the course of this work the author censures, with much freedom, the ignorance, negligence, and hypocrisy of the clergy, but makes no allusion to the reformed opinions either in the way of approbation or condemnation. The most curious and valuable part of it is that in which he lays down a plan of teaching for the new college which the Cardinal was employed in organizing. It will be of far more consequence, he says, to procure teachers capable of instructing the youth in the three learned languages, than to endow a rich but illiterate college. If it should be thought proper to add teachers of Chaldee and Arabic, he would highly approve of the arrangement. "*Quod si visum fuerit linguæ caldaicæ et arabicæ interpretes addere, vehementer probabo; quandoquidem cum Hebraica magnâ habent affinitatem, et plurima sunt illis duabus linguis scripta, quæ non parum sint habitura momenti ad rerum pulcherrimarum intelligentiam.*" (Fol. lix.) Though he does not propose to banish the Peripatetic

philosophy from the schools, yet he would wish to see the study of *the divine Plato* take the place of scholastic *argutie*. (Fol. lx. a.) He laments the neglect of the Roman law, and extols the science of mathematics. (Fol. lx. b. lxii. a.)

Robert Bannerman resigned the provostship, July 12, 1546, on account of his advanced age, and to allow the college to be provided "de alio quovis famoso, juniore et magis ydoneo primario seu principali." On the same day collation was given to Archibald Hay, "clericus Sti Andreæ diocesis." Oct. 1, 1547, the office was conferred "perdocto et spectabili viro Mag^{ro} Johanni Douglass clerico dunkeldensis dioc." in consequence of the death "quond. Mag^{ri} Archibaldi Hay ultimi primarii."

Dr. Howie mentions the kind reception which archbishop Hamilton gave to two Englishmen, Richard Smith and Richard Marshall. (Oratio de Fundatoribus Acad. et Coll. Andreapol.) "Richardus Martialis, Alb. Theologus," was incorporated at St. Andrews in 1549. In 1550, Mr. John Douglas, being made rector for the first time, had for one of his deputies "Richardum Martialem verbi dei præconem egregium." In 1556, the same person is styled "Collegii Mariani Licentiatum."—"Doctor Richardus Smythæus, Anglus," was incorporated in 1550. In 1552, he styles himself "professor sacre Theologiæ." Richard Martial, D.D. was of Christ Church College, of which he was made Dean in 1553. (Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* by Bliss, vol. ii. col. 136, 138.) Smith was also of Oxford, and is the author of a great many controversial works against the protestants. (Wood, *ut supra*, vol. i. pp. 333—337.) Dr. Laurence Humphrey represents him as flying into Scotland to avoid a dispute with his successor Peter Martyr: "Animosus iste Achilles, die ad disputandum constituto,—ad Divum Andream in Scotiam profugeret, ratus eum qui in hæc articulo bene lateret, bene vivere." (Joannis Iveli *Vita et Mors*, p. 44.) "Those of his persuasion accounted him the best schoolman of his time, and they have said that he baffled Pet. Martyr several times. Protestant writers say that he was a sophister—and that he was a goggle-eyed fellow, and very inconstant in his opinion." (Wood, *ut supra*.) Further particulars concerning him will be found in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reform.* vol. ii. p. 162. App. No. 54. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 172.

NOTE H. p. 360.

Change of Professors at St. Andrews in 1580.—It was at first proposed that St. Salvator's, or the Old College, as it was called, should be converted into the seminary for divinity, on account of the number of

chaplainries founded in it, which would serve for the sustentation of the theological students. And, to make room for Melville, it had been agreed that James Martine, who was at the head of that college, should be translated, and made principal of the New College. But upon maturer deliberation, this measure was thought unadvisable. It was judged that those who were presented to the chaplainries in St. Salvador's might study theology in any college in which it was appointed to be taught. The revenues of the New College, and the number of bursars in it, were greater than those of either of the other two. And there was less need for dispossessing the founded persons in it, in order to make room for those who had been elected professors of theology. (Determination anent the Old and New College, September 6, 1579; subscribed "R. Dunfermling. P. Sanctandros.") This last was the chief reason of its being preferred. The General Assembly had declared that Robert Hamilton's holding the office of provost of the New College was an impediment to him in the discharge of his duty as minister of St. Andrews, and had repeatedly enjoined him to demit the former situation. (Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 67. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 480, 564.) Archibald Hamilton, the second principal master of that college, who had long been disaffected to the constitution in church and state, had lately avowed himself a Roman Catholic, and deserted the university. His name occurs for the last time in the records of the university, Nov. 2, 1576, when he was elected one of the auditors of the questor's accompts. On the 6th Oct. 1574, his name was excluded from the roll of persons to be chosen as elders in St. Andrews, "because he being of befor nominat and electit refused to accept the office of elder on him, and not to be nominat quhil he mak repentance y^rfoir." (Records of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews.) The place of John Hamilton, one of the regents, had also been vacated in the same way. John Hamilton, "ex gymnasio M^o," was chosen one of the examiners of the bachelors, Feb. 21, 1574. He could not, therefore, have left Scotland earlier than 1575. Lord Hailes (Sketch of the Life of John Hamilton, p. 2.) says that he was in France in 1573; proceeding upon the authority of Servin, who, in 1586, says, "Il y a treze ans qu'il demeure en ceste ville." (*Plaidoyé de Maistre Lois Servin Advocat en Parlement, pour Maistre Jean Hamilton Escossois*, p. 14. Par. 1586.) The *Plaidoyé* was published by Hamilton himself, which shews how difficult it is to attain to accuracy in such minute circumstances. The counsel who pleaded against Hamilton alleged, "qu'il ne sçait parler ne Latin ne François." Servin replied that his client was ready to

give proof before the parliament of his knowledge of both languages. (Ibid. pp. 89, 109.) The pleading related to the cure of St. Coanue and St. Damian, to which Hamilton had been presented by the university, and contains some curious matter as to the constitution of universities and the privileges of the Scots in France.—The professors of law and mathematics in St. Mary's College were transferred to St. Salvator's. And such of the regents as were displaced were allowed to remain, if they chose, as bursars of theology.

When this reformation was made on the university, Patrick Adamson, as archbishop of St. Andrews, held the honorary office of Chancellor. James Wilkie was Rector of the university, and Principal of the College of St. Leonard, in which he had taught for more than thirty years*. James Martine was Principal of St. Salvator's College, which place John Rutherford, shortly before his death, had resigned to him†. Though he had never left the college in which he received his education, the literary attainments of Martine were respectable, and he continued to discharge the duties of his office with credit to himself for nearly half a century. (Baronii Orat. Funeb. pro M. Jacobo Martinio.) William Skene was Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Conservator of the Privileges of the University.

NOTE I. p. 364.

New Foundation of King's College, Aberdeen.—It appoints a principal, sub-principal, three regents, and a teacher of grammar. The latter is thus described: "Volumus præceptorem grammaticæ virum esse bonum et doctum et apprime versatum in Latina et Græca litera-

* In the Library at St. Andrews, there are Greek books which belonged to James Wilkie, containing MS. notes, from which Dr. Lee is induced to think that he was acquainted with that language. There is the same evidence as to the literary acquirements of John Rutherford, William Ramsay, John Duncanson, and Robert Wilkie.

† On the 26th September, 1577, "Johne Rutherford, younger, son lawfull to ane venerabill man, Mr Johne Rutherford, Rector of the university of St And—with express consent and assent of the said Mr Johne his father," signed a letter of factory to the half of the teind sheaves of Quilts; "presentibus Mro Jacobo Martine *proposito* dicti Collegii," &c. On the 18th December, 1577, "Christiane Forsyth, relict and executrix of umqll Mr Johne Rutherford, sumtyme provost of St Salvator's College, and rector of the university of St And^s, delivered certain writtis and evidents," &c. Rutherford must, therefore, have died in the interval between the 26th September and the 18th December, 1577. (Papers of University.)

tura, cum carmine quam soluta oratione." The first regent was to teach Greek; the second the precepts of invention, disposition, and elocution, in as easy a method as possible; and the third the rudiments of arithmetic and geometry. The sub-principal was to teach physiology, the history of animals as chiefly necessary, geography and astrology, general cosmography, and the reckoning of time, "which throws great light on other arts and the knowledge of history;" and towards the end of his course he was to initiate the students into the principles of the holy tongue. The principal was alternately to lecture on theology, and explain the Hebrew language; and he is thus described: "Is in sacris literis probe institutus, ad aperienda fidei mysteria et reconditos divini verbi thesauros, idoneus linguarum etiam gnarus et peritus sit oportet, inprimis vero Hebraice et Syriace, cujus professorem esse instituimus; linguam enim sacram, at par est, promoveri inter subditos nostros cupimus, ut scripturarum fontes et mysteria rectius aperiuntur." The teachers were appointed to confine themselves to their own branches. "Quatuor autem hos regentes nolimus (prout in regni nostri Academia olim mos fuit) novas professiones quotannis immutare, quo facto fuit ut dum multa profiterentur, in paucis periti invenirentur; verum volumus ut in eadem professione se exerceant," &c. (Nova Fundatio, Jacobo 6to rege.)

This foundation is contained in a Royal Charter, the copy of which now before me is without date. But in the description of the donations made to the College by King James VI. it agrees with the act of parliament in 1617, entitled, "Ratificatioun to the Old Colledge off Abirdene." (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 576.)

The following are some of the steps taken respecting this new erection. In April, 1688, George, Earl Marischal, Robert, Commendator of Deir, and certain brethren who had charge of the King's Majesty's Commission, presented a petition to the General Assembly, desiring them to visit the College of Aberdeen to take trial of the travels they had taken in the said matter, and "to depute some persons to take trial of the members thereof, that they be sufficient and qualified and conforme to the new erections." To this the Assembly agreed, and ordained Mr. James Lawson, Mr. Andrew Melville, and Mr. Nicol Dalgleish, "to consider the proceedings of the said commissioners touching the said erection, and if they find the same allowable and weel done, to give their testimony and approbation thereof to be presented to the Erle Marshal, that his Lo. may travel for the King's M. confirmation thereof." (Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 236, 237.) Nothing having been done in the affair, the Assembly which met in October

that year renewed the appointment of the committee. (Ib. p. 208.) It appears, from the following letter, that this measure met with opposition from the crown.

"Chancellor, Rector, and other members of our College of Abd. we greit yow weill. We are surelie informed that at this last gñall assemblie it was desyrit by some persones that Mr. Alex^r Arbuthnot, Princ^{ll} of our said College, sould transport himself to St. Andrews, and be minister thair of q^rthrough our said College sall be heavilie damnifet, and the foundatione thair of prejudged. As also it is meant they intend to pervert the ordour of the foundatione established be our progenitors and estaities of our realme. Quhairfore we will and comānd you to observe and keipe the heides of your fundatione, and in no wayes to hurt the funds, ay and q^{ll} the estaities be convenit to ane Parliament. At q^{lk} tyme we will cause see q^t is to be reformit thairin. And this ye do upone your obedience as ye will ans^r unto us therupone notwithstanding any ordour taken pñtie or to be taken thairin in any sort thair anent, and keep this our l^{re} for your war-rand. Thus comittes you to God. At halyruidhous, 25 May, 1583. Et sic subs.

"JAMES REX."

In 1581, Parliament appointed a commission to "treate and conclude on certane articles;" one of which was "Reformatioun of the college of Abirdene." (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 214.) In 1584, the new foundation was presented by the professors to parliament, and at their request a commission was appointed to consider it. (Ib. p. 355.) In 1597, Parliament passed the following act: "Oure Souerane Lord with aduyse and consent of the estaittis of this present parliament Ratifeis [and] appreis the new foundatioun of his mat^{es} colledge of auld abirdene to be reveist be his hienes comissioneris appointit to that effect, viz. Mr. Johne lyndesay of balcarhous his mat^{es} secretar, Mr. James Elphinstoun of barntoun ane of the senators of his hienes colledge of Justice and Mr. dauid Cunynghame bischop of abirdene in all and sindrie pointis priviledgis liberteis Immuniteis claussis and circumstances y^rof quhatsumeuir eftir the forme and tenno^r of the samyn. And ordanis his mat^{es} clerk of reg^r to ressaue the said fundatioun and to extend ane act of parliament thairvpoun in the mair forme with extensioun of all claussis neidfull." (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 153.)

The question as to the legality of the New Foundation was warmly disputed in the College, between the years 1634 and 1638. The greater part of the professors, with Dr. Arthur Jonston, the Rector, at their head, maintained the affirmative, in opposition to the pro-

fessors of canon law and medicine. On the 7th of October, 1637, a royal letter was issued for visiting King's College, and "establishing the new foundation by James VI.;" but, in consequence of the representations of "the mediciner and canonist," this visitation was not held, and a new commission was given in the following year, appointing the visitors to proceed "according to the old foundation." At this visitation (April, 1638,) the Rector and his friends pleaded that the original deed of new foundation, subscribed by the King, privy council, bishop, and members of the college, had been secretly destroyed and burnt sixteen years ago, which they offered to prove presently; and that the act of parliament quoted above was a valid ratification of it. This was denied by the other party, who pleaded that, in an action before the Court of Session in March, 1636, the Lords had found that the act of Parliament could "make no faith," forasmuch as "the alledgit fundation wes nevir revised, reported, nor ratified in Parliament." And with respect to "the copie of the act of counsall alledgit subscribed be his Mat^e at Abirdeine, 1592," they argued that it was "ane tyme of greyt trouble and confusione in this land, and wes done sine causa cognitionis et partibus non auditis, if ever it wes done." (Papers of Visitation; and Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. pp. 439—442.)

NOTE K. p. 365.

Grammar School of Glasgow.—In the statutes of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, confirmed in the fourteenth century, it is declared: "Cancellarii officium est in scolis regendis et libris reparandis et corrigendis curam impendere, lectiones auscultare et terminare." (Chartul. Glasguens. tom. i. p. 549: in Bibl. Coll. Glasg.) In 1494, Mr. Martin Wan, Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow, brought a complaint before the Bishop, (Robert Blacader) against M. D. D. Dwne, a priest of the diocese, for teaching scholars in grammar, and children in inferior branches by himself apart, openly and publicly, ("per se ac separatim palam et manifeste,") in the said city, without the allowance and in opposition to the will of the Chancellor. Wan pleaded, that, by statute and immemorial usage, he had the power of appointing and deposing the master of the grammar-school, and of licensing or prohibiting all teachers of youth in Glasgow.—"instituend. et destituend. mag^{rum} scolæ grammaticalis civitatis glasguensis, curamque et regimen dictæ scolæ ac magisterium ejusdem habend. sic quæ quod absque illius (sic) mag^{ri} martini cancellarii prænominati ac cancellarii dictæ ecclesiæ pro tempore existentis, nulli liceat scolam grammaticalem tenere, scholaresque in grammatica aut juvenes

in puerilibus per se clam aut palam infra prædictam civitatem seu universitatem instruere et docere." The bishop having heard the parties, considered the productions, and examined witnesses, decided, with the advice of his chapter, and of the rector and clerks of the university, in favour of the Chancellor, and prohibited Downe from all teaching or instructing of youth or scholars, without license specially sought and obtained from the said Mr. Martin, or the Chancellor for the time being. (Cartul. Glasg. tom. ii. p. 939.)

It appears from this that there was a grammar-school in Glasgow long before the year 1494. In the sixteenth century the situation of master of it was highly respectable. Among the *non-regentes* nominated to elect the rector, or to examine the graduates, the records of the university mention, in 1523 and 1525, "Matthæus Reid mag^r scolæ grammaticalis;" in 1549 and 1551, "Mag. Alex^r Crawford mag. scolæ grāmaticalis;" and in 1555, "Archibald^s Crawford præceptor schol. gram."

At what time Thomas Jack became master, I have not learned. The following is the title of his book: "Onomasticon Poeticum sine Propriorum Quibus in suis Monumentis vsi sunt veteres Poetæ, Brevis Descriptio Poetica, Thomæ Jacchæo Caledoniæ Authore. Edinburgi Excudebat Robertus Waldegræue, Typographus Regiæ Maiestatis. 1592. Cum Privilegio Regali." 4to. Pp. 150. It is dedicated to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, who had been educated under Jack, along with John Graham, a younger son of the Marquis of Montrose. The dedication is dated "Ex Sylva, vulgo dicta, Orientali;" i. e. Eastwood. Prefixed and subjoined to the work are a recommendatory letter by Hædr. Damman A Bistervelt, and encomiastic verses by the same individual, by Robert Rollock, Hercules Rollock, Patrick Sharp, Andrew Melville, and Thomas Craig. From the verses of Robert Rollock, it appears that he had been the scholar of Jack, whom he calls "præceptor ille olim meus Jacchæus." After mentioning that he left the school of Glasgow "a. d. v. Kal. Sept, 1574," Jack goes on to say: "Eo ipso anno, mense Nouembri, non sine singulari numinis providentia, suæ gentis decus, et pietatis et eruditionis nomine, Andreas Melvinus Glascuam venit, qui gymnasio præesset, quem haud dubie in summum suæ Ecclesiæ et Reipub. Scoticæ commodum eò miserat Deus. Ille, versibus meis perlectis, me instantèr urgere non destitit, ut operis frontem ad umbilicum perducerem." Having mentioned the revision of his work by Buchanan, (See Irving's Mem. of Buchanan, p. 238, 2d edit.) Jack adds: "Ad Buchananî curam accessit et Andrea Melvini, Roberti Pontani, et Hædrîani Dammanis opera, quibus co

nomine me devinctissimum confiteor." (*Onomasticon Posticum*, Dedie. Epist.) In 1577, "Thomas Jackerus" was "Quæstor Academicus." (*Annales Collegii Fac. Art. Glasg.*)—Feb. 4, 1578, "Mr. Thomas Jack vicar of eistwod" signs, as a witness, a tack granted by the College to John Buchanan of Ballagan. (*Ibid.*) "Mr. Thomas Jack, minister of Rutherglen," was among those who opposed the election of Montgomery to be archbishop of Glasgow. (*Records of Privy Council*, April 12, 1582.) "Thos. Jack" was a member of the General Assembly, Aug. 1590. (*Buik of Universall Kirk*, f. 158, b.) He is mentioned as a minister within the bounds of the Presbytery of Paisley, in May 1593. (*Record of the Presb. of Glasgow.*) And he died in 1596, as appears from the Testament Testamentar of "Euphame Wylie, relict of umqhill Mr. Thomas Jak minr at Eastwod." She leaves a legacy to "James Scharp, her oy, some to Mr. Patrick Scharp," and constitutes "Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, her oy," her only executor and intromitter. (*Records of Commissary Court of Edinburgh*, Aug. 1, 1608.) In the Dedication of his *Onomasticon*, Jack says, "*Gabrielem Maxwellum, nepotem meum, qui mihi unicj filii loco est, ingravescente hac nostra ætate, tuo commendo patrocinio.*"—Gabriel Maxwell was a minister in the presbytery of Paisley, 18th March, 1594. (*Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh.*) And he is mentioned as "Regens et Magister A^o 1605," in a List of the Masters of the College of Glasgow. (MS. by Principal Dunlop, in Advocates Library.)

NOTE L. p. 367.

Early State of High School of Edinburgh.—This school had the same dependance on the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, which that of Glasgow had on the cathedral church. This is established by a very curious document, a royal charter by James V. dated March 21, 1529, "Henrico Henrison super officio Magisterii Eruditionis in Schola Grammaticalis de Edinburgh." It ratifies and embodies a donation by George Bishop of Dunkeld, as Abbot of Holyroodhouse, with consent of the convent of that monastery. This donation bears, that "our Louit Clark and Oratour Maister David Vocat principale Maister and Techour of our Grammar scule of the burgh of Edinburgh has chosin his louit friende and discipill Maister Hary Henrisoun to be Comaister with him into the said skule," and to succeed to him after his decease; "And because we the saidis Abbot and Cōuent understandis y^e said Maister Hary is abil and sufficientlie qualyfyit therto, has made under him gude and perite scolaris now laitlie y^e tym that he was Maister of our scule within our burgh of y^e Canongate, Heir-

for we, &c. ratifyis and approuis y^e said admissioun of y^e said Maister Hary to be Commaister," &c. and gives and grants him "pouir and licence to be principale maister of y^e said Grammar skule after y^e said Maister Dauid deceiss—wit all and syndrie profitis, &c. and dischairgis all utheris of ony teching of Gramar Skules within y^e said Burgh, except y^e teching and lering of Lectouris allenerally under y^e panys contenit in y^e Papis Bullis, grantit to vs yerupon. And we with (will ?) y^e said Maister Hary Henrysoun heirfore be ane gude, trew and thankful servitour to ws and our Successouris enduring his lyf tyme, and to be at hie solempne festiual tymes with ws and our successouris at y^e mess and ewin sang with his surplis wpon him to doe ws seruice y^e tyme yat we sall doe diuine seruice within our said abbey as efferis.—y^e ferd daye of Septemb. y^e yeir of God 1524 yeiris." (Ex Diplomatum Collectione MS. vol. ii. p. 350 : in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 4. 23.)

During the disputes between the magistrates and Mr. William Robertson, the right of the Abbot is always taken for granted. April 8, 1562, the town-council agree to write to Lord James to deal with Lord Robert, (Abbot of Holyroodhouse,) for removing Mr. W. Robertson from the grammar-school, for granting the office of master "to sic ane leirnit and qualifeit man as yai can find maist abill y^efore and for vphalding and sustening y^e s^d m. & doctouris, as alsua of y^e regentis of ane collage to be biggit wⁱn yis burgh." (Register of Town Council, vol. iv. f. 26.) April 11, 1562, Mr. William Robertson produced "ane gyft grantit be abbot cairneros to vmq^{le} Sr Jhone allane." (Ib. f. 27.) He afterwards produced a gift to himself "be presentation of the abbat of halierudhous—of y^e dait y^e x day of Januar 1^m v^c xlvi yers," to which it was objected by the procurator of the town, (Oct. 3, 1562.) that it ought to have had the seal of the convent and the subscription of the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, administrator and governor of the Abbot of Holyroodhouse, who was then a minor under fourteen years of age. "The provost, &c. sittand in jugemēt as iugeis ordineris to the persoun of Mr Williame Robertsoun, haifand consent of Robert commendator of halierudhous—findis y^e said Mr W. vnhabill to exerce y^e said office of scholemaister within y^e said bur^t & yairfore decerns him to remove," &c. (Reg. ut sup. ff. 44, 45.) This is a very curious minute. Robertson continued to defend his right, and on the 6th of May, 1565, the Queen interposed her authority in his favour. (Ib. ff. 128, 129.) On the 6th of March, 1562, the council "ordainis ane writing to be maid in maist effectuous manner to Mr James Qubite scottisman in london—to accept upon him y^e mastership of y^e hie gramer scole, and becaus yai ar surelie informit

[he] hes greit profit be his scole in londone, and yt he is ane man of excellent lerning baith in lating & greik ordanis ane yearlie pensoun to be given to him of iij^{xx}li (fourscore pounds) of y^e readiest of yair commoun gude, besyde and abone y^e profet yt he sall haue of y^e bairnis." (Ib. f. 60.) July 28, 1568, the treasurer is appointed to ride to St. Andrews "for Mr thomas buchquhanane to be Maist. of yair hie scole." (Ib. f. 220.) He entered to the school on the 11th of February following, and appears to have left it about July, 1570. (Ib. ff. 294, 260.) It would seem that he acted as assistant to his uncle during his residence at Stirling. For a pension of £100 was given to "Mr. Thomas buchannane Maister of y^e grammar scole of Striueling, quha hes bene in the newmber of his hienes houshald" and has bruikid the pension, "thir diuers years bygane.—Penult. Aug. 1578." (Reg. of Presentation to Benefices, &c. vol. ii. f. 2.)

It appears, from the gift to Henry Henryson, that in 1525 there was a grammar school in the Canongate, distinct from that of Edinburgh, and that both were originally under the patronage of the abbots of Holyroodhouse. In 1580, "The baillies counsall and Kirk of the bur^t of the canongait" entered a complaint before the Privy Council, in which they stated that they have "bene euir cairfull according to thair duteis that thair youth sould haue bene instructit and brot vp in the knowledge of god and gude lres And thairfoir hes had grammer sculis ane or ma And that not onlie sen reformatioun of religioun bot also in tyme of papistrie & past memorie of man, Quhill that Mr William Robertsoun sculemaster of Edinbur^t be sum solistatioun purchest of his hienes in the moneth of October last the confirmatioun of ane papistcally gift gotten in tyme of blindnes at the abbot of haliuroidhous then being in minority without consent of the convent And be the same hes stoppit and dischargit their sculis be the space of ane quartir of ane yeir or mair last bipast throw the qlk thair hail infantis and children are dispersit, &c.—The lordis of secreit counsall ffindis thameselfis not to be judges competent to the said mater and thairfoir remittis the samen to be decydit befor the judges competent thairto as accordis." (Record of Privy Council, 9th Sept. 1580.)

NOTE M. p. 372.

Of Alexander Syme.—The following grant to Alexander Syme furnishes a curious notice as to the teaching of law in Scotland: "Marie be y^e grace of god quene of Scottis &c Forsamekle as it is vnderstand to oure derrest moder Marie quene drowriere and regent of oure realme that y^e want and laik of cunning men, raritie and skarsines of

thane to teche and reid within our realme, hes bene y^e occasioun of y^e decay of knowlege and science, within y^e samin swa yat yir mony zeris bigane yair hes bene few yat applyit yame or gaif yair studie to obtene letters And yat florischeing of letters knowlege and science nocht allanerlie to y^e plesure of ws and our successouris, and to oure and yair perpetuale honour and fame Bot also to the greit decoring of y^e countrie and vntallable proffit of oure Hegis quhilk sall follow yairvpoun, gif be authorising of cunning men all liberall sciences beis frielie techit floriss and increas, and We vnderstanding that oure weilbelovite clerk maister Alex. Sym hes spendit his haill youtheid past in vertew and science, and having experience of him yat he is habill to reid, instruct, and teiche Thairfor &c." grants him a pension of 100 lib. Scots, during the Queen's pleasure—"To y^e effect yat he sall await upoun our said derrest moder, and be hir Lectoure and reidare in y^e lawis or ony vtheris sciencis, at oure burt of Ed^r or quhair he salbe requirit be our said derrest moder yairto. And alsua to gife all vtheris young mene of fresche and quyk Ingynis occasioun to apply yair hale myndis to studie for like reward to be hade of ws in tyme cuning, &c. At Ed. Feb. 5, 1555." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. xxviii. fol. 10.)

In 1562, Mr. Alexander Sym was appointed one of the examiners of the master of the High School of Edinburgh, "in grammar, greik, and latein." The following is a list of these "men cuning and experte in the saidis sciences," who may be presumed to have been the most distinguished for learning in the country: "Maisters George baquhannane, George Hay, Alexander Sym, David Colass, Johnne craig minister of halierudhous, James panter, James Kinponte, Clement litill, Johnne henderson, and Johnne Spottiswood superintendant of Lothian." (Register of Town Council, Oct. 3, 1562.) In 1567, Mr. Alex. Sym was appointed one of the procurators for the Church. (Cald. ii. 81.) He was alive in 1573, when he was appointed procurator, along with Edwart Henderson, for the College of St. Leonard before the Lords of Counsel. (Pap. of Univ. of St. Andrews.)

NOTE N. p. 375.

Of Edward Henryson.—Henryson's first work was a translation of a treatise of Plutarch: "Plutarchi Septem Sapientum Convivium," published in "Moralium Opusculorum Plutarchi Tomus Tertius—apud Graphium, Lvgduni 1551." 12mo. The Dedication is inscribed "D Hvldrico Fuggero Edwardvs Henris S. P. D." A copy of this book, belonging to the University of St. Andrews, has on the title-page the author's autograph, "Edward Henryson," with a number

of corrections of errors of the press by the same pen. This book has also the autograph of "G. Hay rvtthwen *."

In 1555, Henryson published a defence of Baro against Govea, on the subject of the distinction between magistratical and judicial authority. "*Edvardi Henrysonis Pro Eg. Barone adversus A. Govearum de Jurisdictione Libri II. Parisiis 1555.*" 8vo. fol. 80. The Dedication, "*Ad Huldricum Fuggerum Kirchbergi & Vveissenborniæ dominum,*" is dated "*Biturigibus quarto nonas Octob. Anno. M. D. LTV.*" He informs Fugger that he had planned the work in his house—"in Michausa tua," and that he considered all his literary labours as due to him in virtue of the pension which he had from him—"tibi tui stipendij iure debentur." A copy of this work in the Advocates Library has the following inscription in the author's handwriting: "*D. Joanni Henrysoni Eduard Henryson author amoris ergo D.D. postridie Calend. No. 1555.*"

This work, as well as Henryson's Commentary on the title of the Institutes *De Testamentis*, was republished by Meerman: *Novus Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici*, tom. iii. Meerman says the *Comment. de Testamentis ordinandis*, was printed at Paris, 1556, in 8vo. In the dedication of it to Michael d'Hopital, dated from Bourges, "*7 Cal. Jul. 1555,*" Henryson says, that the second year of his teaching Civil Law in that place was then running. His name, however, does not occur in two published lists of the professors of that university. (Meerman, *Nov. Thes.* tom. iii. *Præfat.* p. vii.)

The following note is written on a blank leaf of *Arriani Epictetus*, Gr. in the Library of Edinburgh College. (A. T. a. 10.) It is in the handwriting of Henryson's son. "*Fuit hic Doctoris Eduardi henrysonis liber E quo transtulit in linguam latinam Epicteti Enchiridium et arriani Commentarios de Epicteti dissertationibus in Ædibus Reuerendissimi viri Henrici Sancto Claro tum decani Glasguensis postea Episcopi Roseensis Eduardi Mæcenatis Anno 59 post Millesimum Quingentissimum. Antequam in publicum prodierunt Jacobi Scheggii Eruditissimi Et Hieronymi volphii Ælingensis Interpretis optimi Eruditæ Et doctæ conuersationes. Mentionem facit Volphius Interpretationis Thomæ Naogeorgii quam non videre mihi contigit licet sedu-*

* George Hay, sometimes called parson of Ruthven, and at other times parson of Eddilston, was a brother of Andrew Hay, parson of Renfrew, who filled, for many years, the office of Rector of the University of Glasgow. (Cald. ii. 618, 619.) An account of his Answer to the Abbot of Crossraguel has been given elsewhere. (Life of Knox, ii. 131, 446.) In April, 1576, "Certane brether appointit to oversie the booke wrytin be Mr. George Hay contra Tyrie." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 65.)

lo perquisierim. Cur autem pater suam versionem Henrico Sanctare dicatam non Ediderit Secuta Luctuosissima illi Mæcenatis mors Et typographorum Apud nos penuria Et Statim postea tantorum virorum lucubrationes Editæ in Gallia fuere." Some of the statements in this note are at least dubious. Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, did not die until Jan. 2, 1565. The translation of Arrian by Scheggius was published in 1554. Henryson was with Fugger in 1551; and it is not very probable that he was in Scotland during the following year.—Dempster (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 350.) mentions a translation of another work of Plutarch by Henryson: "Plutarchi Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorū. Lugduni, 1555."

In 1563 "Maisteris James Balfour persoun of fliak, Ed. henryson, Clement littill aduocatis and rōbert Maitland," were established Commissaries of Edinburgh: Balfour had 400 merks, and the rest 300 merks each, for their "feis yierlie." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxxii. fol. 79.) Henryson is known as the editor of the Scots Acts of Parliament, which appeared in 1566. His name occurs in a list of advocates, May 22, 1585. (Papers of Hospital of Perth.) He was dead before March 10, 1591. (Inq. Retorn. *Edinburgh*, num. 1414.) Several particulars as to his family are mentioned in Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 198. And his talents and his patronage of science are celebrated by John Rutherford. (De Arte Dissendi, Præfat.)

NOTE O. p. 384.

Of Archbishop Adamson.—Dr. Mackenzie is offended at the presbyterian historians for asserting that the Archbishop's name was *Patrick Constance*, and that he was a minister of the church of Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation. (Lives, iii. 365.) That he was called *Constytne*, *Constance*, or *Constantine*, is most unquestionable. Recommendatory verses by James Lawson and Robert Pont are prefixed to "Catechismus Latino Carmine redditus—Patricii Adamsoni Scoti poetæ elegantissimi opera—Lekprevik, 1581*." In his verses Pont says:

* This work was first printed at St. Andrews in 1573. (Melville's Diary, pp. 27, 28.) Charters mentions both editions, (Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 2.) as does also Sibbald. (De Script. Scot. p. 24.) In his dedication of it to the young king, the author informs James, that he had composed it with the view of assisting in his education.

Vidit Patricivs cum Constantinus opellæ,
Admouitque manum noster Adamsonivs.

The following is the title-page of the first edition of one of Adamson's earliest works: "De Papistarvm Syperstiosis Ineptiis Patricij Adamsonij, Alias Constantini carmen. Matth. 15. Omnis plantatio &c. Impressum Edinburgi per Robertum Lekprewick. Anno 1564." (In Bibl. Coll. Edin.) Wilson, perhaps thinking the *alias* discreditable to his father-in-law, omitted the second name in his edition. It is unnecessary to produce other proofs. If any of the presbyterian historians have asserted that the archbishop changed his name, they are mistaken; for he inherited both designations from his ancestors. Dionysius Adamson or Constantine was Town Clerk of Perth toward the close of the fifteenth century. He is mentioned in thirteen charters from 1491 to 1500, and is sometimes called *Adamson* and sometimes *Constantine*. (Extracts from Registers of Births, &c. in Perth, by the Rev. James Scott; now in the Library of the Advocates.) The writer of *Vita P. Adamsoni*, subjoined to *Melvini Musæ*, (p. 45,) says the bishop was the son of Patrick Constan, a baker. Mr. Scott says that Patrick Adamson or Constantine, who was a magistrate of Perth in 1541, and died Oct. 23, 1570, had a daughter named Violet, and three sons, Patrick, Henry, and James. Violet married Andrew Simson, master of the grammar school of Perth. Patrick became archbishop of St. Andrews. Henry was killed on the street of Perth, April 16, 1558. James held the office of provost of Perth from 1609 to 1611, and was the father of Mr. Henry Adamson, the author of the poem entitled *Gall's Gabions*. (Extracts from Registers, ut supra.)

In 1558, "Patricius Constyle," of St. Mary's College, was laured. (Rec. of Univ. of S. And.) In 1560, "Mr. Patrik Coustone" (Constone) was declared by the General Assembly qualified "for ministring and teaching." (Keith's Hist. p. 498.) Dec. 1562, "Mr. Patrik Couston (*Constance*, Buik of Univ. Kirk,) if he be not chosen, for St. Johnston, for Aberdeen." (Keith, 519.) June, 1564, "Mr. Patrick Constance minister of Syres desyreing the licence to pass to france and vther countreyes for augmenting of his knowledge for a tyme, The haill assembleie in ane voice dissentit y^rfra." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 11.) "Accingenti se ad iter vir Dei Johannes Choxus maledixit, quod tam ampla messe et tanta operariorum penuria gregem deseruisset, ut ea quæ sunt mundi quæreret." (Melvini Musæ, &c. p. 45.)

The presbyterian writers say, that Adamson, on his return to Scotland, betook himself a second time to the ministry, and that, being disappointed of the archbishopric of St. Andrews, he preached a sermon, about the time of Douglas's consecration to that See, in which he told the people, "There are three sorts of Bishops; my Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop was in the time of Popery: my Lord's Bishop is now, when my Lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure: and the Lord's Bishop is the true minister of the gospel." Dr. Mackenzie summarily rejects this statement, as inconsistent with Adamson's account of himself, "that he was then at Bruges (Bourges) in France, nor did he return to Scotland till the year 1573." (Lives, iii. 365, 366.) The writer of the life of Adamson in the *Biographia Britannica* adopts Mackenzie's statement, but blames him for not exposing more particularly the anachronisms of which the presbyterian writers have been guilty; and having referred to dates and authorities "to put this matter out of dispute," he concludes that the whole is a scandalous story, fabricated by men who were induced by "great spleen to write any thing that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the Kirk were the objects of their invective." (Biogr. Brit. vol. i. p. 39, 2d edit.) But it has happened to this writer as to those who contradict others on a subject on which they are themselves superficially informed. For, in the *first* place, Bannatyne, who was on the spot, has recorded in his *Journal*, (p. 323,) that "Mr. Patrik Coasting (Consting) preached" at St. Andrews on the Friday before Douglas's consecration; and James Melville says that he heard the sermon, and has given the words used by the preacher, as quoted above. (Diary, p. 27.) In the *second* place, in spite of the averments and presumptions of the writers referred to, it is unquestionable that Adamson had left France, and was in Scotland, when Douglas was appointed to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and even before the death of Hamilton, the former incumbent. Archbishop Hamilton was executed April 1, 1571; and Douglas was elected to the bishopric on the 6th, and consecrated on the 10th day of February, 1572. Now, Mr. Patrick Adamson presented a petition to the General Assembly, which met on the 6th of March, 1572, "requesting them to ratify his pension of 500 merks out of the parsonage of Glasgow, because he was willing to serve in the ministry." (Cald. ii. 343.) "The Assembly (A^o 1571,) brotherly required Mr. Patrick Adamson to enter again in the ministry." He answered that he would advise till next Assembly. (Ibid. ii. 326.)

"In the tenth Session (of the Assembly which met March 1, 1570.) Mr. Patrick Adamson shewing that he was appointed by advice of the brethren then convened at Edin^r to await on Court, and preach to my lord Regent's Grace, and for that purpose was modified to him 600 merks be year, and had served 3 months upon his own expences: therefore requested the brethren to appoint when he should receive payment of his stipend pro rato, wch was done." (Ib. ii. 165.) But the following document puts the matter beyond all doubt. "Gift of ane yeirlie pensioun of the soume of fyve hundreth merkis money of this realme—to Maister Patrik Adamsoun—from the personage of Glasgow &c. 25 day of August 1570." (Register of Benefices disponit sen the entres of the Noble and Michtie lord Matthew erle of Lennox, lord dernelie, to the office of Regentrie, fol. 2.)

These authorities would have outweighed the testimony of Adamson himself, though he had asserted the contrary. But he has done no such thing. His words are: "*Scripti quidem in Gallia in ipso belli furore*" (Dedic. in Catechis.); meaning the civil war which raged in 1567, and 1568. Misunderstanding this, his son-in-law has said, "*dum Martyrii Parisiensis rabiis conflagraret;*" and Thomas Murray, proceeding on this mistake, adds, "*in medio belli civilis quo Gallia anno 1572 conflagrauit, incendio.*" (Præfat. et Carm. ante Jobum.) In this way carelessness creates blunders, and blunders, acting on prejudice and spleen, produce calumny. I have entered into this examination, not on account of the importance of the facts to which it immediately relates, (although truth is preferable to error in all things,) but because it affords a specimen of the ease with which the common charges of falsification which writers of a certain description have brought against Knox, Buchanan, Calderwood, and other presbyterian historians, may be refuted.

It would seem that Adamson had some connexion with the University of St. Andrews, while he was minister of Ceres. At least, the preface to his poem, *De Papistarum Ineptiis*, is dated, "*Sanc-tiandree 4. calendas Septembris. Anno 1564. Ex pædagogio.*" Among the works ascribed to him is a eucharistical poem to Queen Elizabeth for the liberation of Scotland from civil war. (Graii Oratio de Illustr. Scot. Script. p. xxxii. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. i. Charters. Sibbald.) He was probably the author of the Latin translation of the Scots Confession of Faith, published by Lekprevik, "*Andreapoli Anno Do. M.D.LXXII.*" Subjoined to it are a specimen of his paraphrase of Job, and an epitaph by him on Walter Mill the martyr. This is the epitaph inserted in Spotswood's History, p. 97. Among the Cottonian

MSS. are two epitaphs "per Patriciū Constantiū Scotum;" one on Bishop Jewel, and another on the Duke of Guise. (Calig. B. 5. 58.)

NOTE P. p. 388.

Of John Davidson, Principal of the College of Glasgow.—Charters, in his account of Scottish Divines, and Wodrow, in his Life of John Davidson, have confounded the Principal with the person who is the subject of the succeeding note *. The latter (who became minister of Libberton, preached for some time in Edinburgh, and died minister of Prestonpans,) was a student of St. Leonard's College, in the University of St. Andrews, from 1567 to 1570. The former had been at the head of the College of Glasgow many years before that period. "Die xxiv^o octobris anno 1556. Incorporati sub præscripto Rectore—Mag^r Joannes Davidson vicarius de alness." The same year he was chosen one of the four intrants for electing the Rector. And on the 25th of Oct. 1557, he is styled "principalis regens pedagogii Glasguen." (Annal. Univ. Glas.) In 1559, "Mag. Johānes Davidson principalis regens pedagogii seu universitatis Glasguen" signs two deeds relating to the College rents; and in 1560 another is subscribed by "Mr Johne Davidson principal regent of y^e pedagog of Glasgow." I have not been able to ascertain at what time he died, but believe his name occurs for the last time in the records of the university about the year 1572.

The following is the title of a book published by him: "An Answer to the Tractiue, set furth in the zeir of God, 1558, be Maister Quintine Kennedy, Commendatar of Crosraguell, for the establisching of ane Christiane mannis conscience (as he alledgis) the Forth and strenth of his Papistrie, and all vthers of his Sect, as appearis weil be his Epistle direct to the Protestantes, and Prentit in the last part of this Buik. Maid be Maister Johne Davidson, Maister of the Pædagog of Glasgw. Collosa. 2. Bewarre &c. Imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik. Cum priuilegio. 1563." 4to. 34 leaves. The running title is: "The Confutatione of M. Q. Kep. Papisticall Councils."

After an address "To the Benevolent Reader" is a dedication "To the maist Noble and vertuous Lorde Alexander, Earle of Glencar-

* There was a third person of this name who was alive at the same time. Mr. John Davidstone was minister of Hamilton in 1567, (Keith p. 575,) in 1578, (Melville's Diary, p. 43,) and in 1589. (Cald. iv. 139.)

den." Having praised the exertions of his Lordship in the Reformation of religion, and stated that this answer was undertaken at his desire, the author goes on to say: "And because this buik of M. Q. contenit so many absurditeis, quhilk wald haue consumit great tyme, to haue confutit thaim all, It chancit weill, that ane lytle space before the beginning of the reformation of the religion, he excerptit furth of this hale Buik, ane Schort tractiue, contening the hale matter of his Buik, as the Coppy bearis that he send me, to present to James Betoune, Archebischop of Glasgw (quha was my gude Maister and liberal freind, quhowbeit for religione we are now seperatit in ane part, as mony fathers and sonnes is, in thir our dayis) to quhom I pray God, send the treuth and knowlege of his worde: that may vnit vs in Spirit and mynde againe together, that hes seperatit vs (as apperis) in our warldly kyndenes." At the end of the book is an answer to "Maister Quintine kennedeis Epistle to the Brethren Protestantes," in which Davidson reminds the Abbot he had sent him his *Schort Tractiue*, "to haue bene presentit in that troublus tyme to James Betoune archebischope of Glasgo, our gude Lorde and Maister, to haue had his Judgement and mynde of zour said buik, before that tyme laitly Prentit: quhilk for that present tyme, we approuit baith to be gude and godly, bot sen syne, I finding the Scriptures sa weill oppinnit, be the ordinarie meanis, quhareby God communicatis vnto men, the vnderstanding of his Scripturs, that I could nocht be langer of zour opinione, without I wald haue mantenit, as ane shameles man, that thing quhilk had nother ground of Scripture, gude reasone, nor approbatione of the Ancient Doctours. Quharefore, for the brotherly luife I beare to all men in Christe, and for the auld Parisiane kyndnes, that was betuix vs *, to bryng zour L. and the people of this countrie, fra the error and blyndnes that this lytle buik of zours, hes haldin zow and thaim baith in. Be sindrie Scripturs and reasonis I haue trauellit, vsing me heirin, efter the commone maner of Reasoning, without dispyte, or reproche, and on the maist gentile maner I could, I haue schawin zow, quhow ze haue far ouersene zour self in this buik, of the quhilk, in my hart trewly I am sorie. Praying zour L. heirfore, gif ze finde the Rea-

* A commission by the Bishop of Aberdeen was executed at Paris, Sept. 13, 1552: "coram his testibus—Magistris Joanne Davidson vicario de Nyg," &c. (Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 74.) But I cannot assert that this is the individual who was afterwards principal of Glasgow College.

sonis I bring in aganis zours, to haue evacuat the reasonis of zour beik in ony sorte: vnderstand my labours not to be, that I desyre zour L. (quha excedis me far in vnderstanding, and in all kynde of subtile reasoning) to acknawledge zour self to be ouercum be me, bot let the veritie beare away the victorie fra vs baith."

The following notice is bestowed on Davidson's book by Ninian Winget. "Of this mater I heir of a buke set furth be an honorable offesour of y^e trew catholik fayth M. Quintine kennedie, a work cōmendit be sindry cunning men als weil of Ingland as of Scotland. And also laithie I heif sein certane clatteris & I wate nocht quhat, nameit cōtumeliouslie in hie contempt of y^e kirk of God, *A confutation of y^e said M. Quintinis Papistical counsellis*. Put out be one of our windfallin brether, laithie snapperit in the cummerance of Caluin. M. Johne Daudsone, Quha for his parte of the new padzeane of his desperat brethir, wald be haldl a Daudsone so doughtie, yat with a puft of his mouth he micht be iudgeit to cleik fra y^e counsellis, als weil general as wtheris, al auctoritie: in yat he dar be sa temerarious as to call yame papistical: yat is, as he intendis contameliouslie be yat terme, dissaitful, wickit, leing ad erroneous. And sua impudentlie dar he affirme few Godly cōsulis to hef bene othir, sen Syluestris days or afore:—sit he thinkis nocht al yat venum amech: bot affirmis als that yai hef bene few guid pastouris in y^e kirk sen y^e said Syluester. *O ingentem confidentiam!* My toung treulie, Madame, failzeis me to express y^e zele yat a faythful Christiane suld haif, for the house of God, aganis yir schameles learis, aganis y^e folie, yea y^e phrenesie of yir proud pestilent protestantis, euery day descēding a step feryer to yair maister in hel." (Epistle Dedicatory "To y^e maist Catholik, Noble, and Gracious Souerane Marie Quene of Scottis," prefixed to "Vincentius Lirenensis of the natioun of Gallia, for the antiquitie and veritie of the catholik fayth, aganis y^e prophane noustionis of all hereseis, A richt goldin buke writtin in Latin about xi. C. zeiris passit, and neulie translatit in Scottis be Niniane Winzet a catholik Preist—Antverpiæ Ex officina Ægidii Diest, 1 Decemb. 1563.")

As a number of books in favour of the Roman Catholic Religion were about this time translated into the Scottish language, so the Reformers procured the translation of the most useful writings of foreign protestants. One of these appeared under the following title: "Ane Breif Gathering of the Halie Signes, Sacrifices and Sacramentis Institutit of God sen the Creation of the warlde. And of the trew originall of the sacrifice of the Masse. Translatit out of

Franshe into Scottis be ane Faithful Brother. Math. 18. Everis plant &c. Imprintit at Edinbvrgh be Robert Lekprevik. M. D. LXV." &c. 46 leaves. Judging from internal evidence, I would be disposed to conclude that the epistle of "The Translatovr to the Reader" was written by John Knox. "I finding the commoditis of sume zeung men weill aquentit with y^e French toung quhais labouris releuit ane mekle in yis behalf: I have causit yis litle Buik be set furthe in our Scottis toung to mak y^e trenth knawin to all our countrie men, yat hes not y^e knowledge of y^e vther leid and yat it may be partly ane answer to Winzets Questionis, quhil y^e compleit answer be prepared for y^e rest."—It appears from the following entry that a pension was for some time assigned to an individual whom the General Assembly employed to translate foreign books.

"And of the soume of ane hundereth thretty thre pundis sex schillingis aucht pennies pait be y^e comptare to Williamie Stewart Translator of y^e werkis and bulkis as is the^t necess^e be y^e kirk to be translatit for edificatioun of y^e people Conforme to the appointment of y^e said buke of modificatioun

j^c xxxiij li vj s viij d."

(Accompt Coll. General of the Thridde of Benefices for the year 1651.)—Another entry in nearly the same terms is made in the accompt for 1662.

NOTE Q. p. 394.

Of Davidson's Memorial of Kinyeancleuch.—The following is the title of this rare poem: "A Memorial of the life & death of two worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife Elizabeth Campbel. In English Meter. Edinbvrgh. Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the King's Maiestie. 1595. Cum privilegio Regali." Black letter, C in eights. The running title is: "A Memorall of the life of two worthie Christians." The dedication "To his loving sister in Christ, Elizabeth Campbel of Kinyeanclevch," is dated "From Edinburgh the 24. of May. 1595. Your assured Friend in Christ I. D."—"Finding this little Treatise (Sister, dearlie beloved in Christ) of late yeares amongst my other Papers, which I made about twentie yeares and one agoe, Immediately after the death of your godlie Parentes of good memory, with whome I was most dearlie acquainted in Christ, by reason of the trouble I suffered in those daies for the good cause, wherein God made them chiefe comforters vnto me till death separated vs. As I vewed it over, and reade it before some godly persones of late, they were

most instant with me, that I woulde suffer it to come to light, to the stirring vp of the zeale of God's people among vs, which now be-
ginneth almost to be quenched in all estates none excepted. So that
the saying of the worthie servaunt of God *John Knox*, (among many
other his fore-speakings) proueth true, that is ; “ *That as the gospel
entred among vs and was receiued with fervencie and heat : so he fear-
ed it should decay and lose the former bewtie, through coldnes, and loth-
somnesse, howbeit (as he saide many times) it should not be utterlie
overthrowen in Scotland, til the coming of the Lord Iesus to iudgment,
in spite of Sathan & malice of all his slaves.*”—Elizabeth was the
heiress of the two worthie Christians, “ after the death of their onely
Sonne, Nathaniel.”

I have already given an extract from this Poem. (See above, vol. i.
p. 419.) After mentioning that poets in all ages had celebrated those
who excelled in any “ vertuous deid,” or deed which appeared to
them “ like vertue,” the author says :—

So we finde deeds of vassalage,
Set foorth by Poets in all age,
Even of *Gray-Steill*, wha list to luke,
Their is set foorth a meikle buke,
Yea for to make it did them gude
Of that rank Rouer *Robene Hude* :
Of *Robene Hude* and little *Iohne*,
With sic like Outlawes many one :
As *Clim* of the *Clewgh* and *Cliddislie*,
Because of their fine archerie.

* * * *

Then to beginne but proces more,
We haue had worthie men before,
Of all degries these fyftene yeers,
As the *gude Regent* with his feeres :
John Knox that valyant Conquerour,
That stood in many stalward stour :
For Christ his maister and his word,
And many moe I might record :
Some yet aliue, some also past,
Erle Alexander is not last,
Of *Glencarne*, but these I passe by,
Because their deeds are alreddy

By sundrie Poets put in write,
 Quhilk now I neid not to recite.

Kinyeancleugh's zealous and active exertions at the commencement of the Reformation are commemorated thus :

Sa priuatelie in his lodgeing,
 He had baith prayers and preaching :
 To tell his freinds he na whit dred,
 How they had lang bene blindlins led :
 By shaueling Papists, Monks and Friers,
 And be the Paipe these many yeares :
 When some Barrones, neere hand him by,
 And Noble men he did espie,
 Of auld who had the truth profest,
 To them he quicklie him address :
 And in exhorting was not slak,
 What consultation they would tak,
 How orderlie they might suppresse ;
 In their owne bounds that Idole messe :
 In place thereof syne preaching plant,
 To quhilk some noble men did grant.

* * * * *

Quhilk they did soone performe in deede
 And made them to the wark with speede :
 And had some preaching publictlie,
 Where people came maist frequentlie :
 Whiles among woods in banks and brais,
 Whiles in kirkyards beside their fais :
 Thir Novells through the Countrie ran,
 Quhilk stirred vp baith wife and man.

* * * * *

When they puld down the Friers of *Air*,
 Speir at the Friers gif he was thair :
 The Lard of *Carnele* yet in *Kyle*,
 Quha was not sleipand al this while,
 And *Robert* wer made messengers,
 Send from the rest to warne the Friers
 Out of those places to deludge,
 Howbeit the Carls began to grudge :

Either with good will or with ill,
 The keyes they gave thir twa vntill :
 After their gudes they had out tane,
 So greater harme the Friers had nane :
 Far vnlike to their crueltie,
 In their massacing boutcherie.

* * * * *

Then *Robert* like a busie Bie,
 Did ride the post in all Countrie :
 Baith North and Sowth, baith East and West,
 To all that the gude cause profest :
 Through *Angus*, *Fyfe*, and *Lawthaine*,
 Late iournies had he many ane :
 By night he would passe forth of *Kyle*,
 And alip in shortly to *Argyle* :
 Syne to *Stratherne* and to all parts,
 Where he knew godly zealous harts,
 Exhorting them for to be stoute,
 And of the matter haue no doubt :
 For although, said he, we be few,
 Having our God we are anew.

Davidson praises Kinyeancleugh's lady for encouraging him in these disinterested expeditions, instead of grudging, as some wives did, the expense which he incurred. In describing the ungracious reception which the husband of one of these thrifty dames received at his home-coming, the poet informs us of the arrival in Scotland of a singular female colony, whose race, it is to be hoped, is now extinct among us ; although, perhaps, some acute and keen-set antiquary may be able still to track them, and, stoically fearless of "a re-begeaster," to point out some descendants of these Norwegian Amazons.

He might look as they tell the tail,
 When he came hame for euill cooled kaill :
 Ze haue sa meikle gear to spend
 Ze trow never it will haue end :
 This will make you full bare there ben,
 Lat see (sayes she) what other men,
 So oft ryding a field ye finde,
 Leauing thair owne labour behinde.

This and farre mair had oft bene told,
 Be many wiues, yea that we hold
 Not of the worst in all the land,
 I speak not of that balefull band:
 That Sathan hes sent heir away,
 With the black fleete of *Norrouay*:
 Of whome ane with her Tygers tong,
 Had able met him with a rovg:
 And reaked him a rebegeastor,
 Calling him many warlds weastor.

Kinyeancleugh, accompanied by Davidson, who was then under concealment, had gone to *Rusko*, a seat of the *Laird of Lochinvar*, where he sickened, and died on the 22d of April, 1574. His wife died in the month of June following. Davidson praises his protector's piety, charity, lenity to his tenants, and his wisdom and integrity in settling private differences, on which account he was employed by rich and poor, both of the popish and protestant persuasion.

NOTE R. p. 397.

Bishop Reid's Legacy for building a College in Edinburgh.—The following are the facts respecting this legacy, of which Maitland (Hist. of Edin. p. 356,) has given an incorrect statement. Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney and Zetland, (who died in 1558,) "be his testament and latt^r will left the sowme of aucht thousand merkis money of this realme—for bying of the landis and yairdis lyand in the said burgh (of Edinburgh) qlkis sumtyme pertenit to vmq^{le} Sr Johnne ramsay of balmane And for founding of ane college for exercise of learnig thair into, be the aduise counsale and discretioun of vmq^{le} Maister Abraham creightoun prouest of dunglas, Maister James Makgill of rankeloure nether clerk of the registre, and vmq^{le} Maister thomas makealzeane of cliftonhall." As the money had not been applied according to the will of the disponent, and "all the three persons to whose discretion the accomplishing of the work was committed" were dead, the legacy was considered as having fallen to the king; and the town council, in 1582, supplicated the privy council, that his Majesty's right in the matter should be conveyed to them, and that they might have full power to pursue Walter abbot of Kinloss, "ane of the executors testamentares of the said vmq^{le} Robert bishop of Orkney," and others indebted for the said sum. This supplication was granted by the

privy council, on the town council giving security that they would apply the money recovered to the support of a college. (Record of Privy Council, April 11, 1592.) On the 6th of July, 1593, the town council had recovered the money in the hands of the abbot of Kinloss, which amounted to 4000 merks. (Record of Town Council, vol. ix. f. 207.) There does not appear to have been any ground for the charge brought against the Regent Morton of having seized on the legacy, as stated in Gordon's *Geneal. Hist. of Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 176, and in Keith's *Scot. Bishops*, p. 134.

NOTE S. p. 404.

Resort of Foreign Students to Scotland.—The reputation of the University of St. Andrews had extended to France in the year 1586, in consequence of which the father of the celebrated Andrew Rivet purposed sending him to study at it. (Dauberi Oratio Funebris, sig. * * 2. prefix. Riveti Oper. tom. iii.) But the troubles of Scotland discouraged foreign students from visiting it between 1584 and 1586. The reader must not consider the following list as containing all the foreigners who studied at St. Andrews. After the year 1579, the names of those who entered the New College (which was then appropriated to the study of theology) are not usually recorded in the books of the University. A separate list of them appears to have been kept; but during Melville's principality, from 1580 to 1607, the original list has been lost, and there remains only an imperfect copy of it, apparently taken by Robert Howie, his successor. Blanks are frequently left in it, and sometimes only a part of the name is given. During the time that Howie was principal, the list, which is in his handwriting, may be considered as complete. The following names are collected from different records of the University. I have not included the names of students from England and Ireland. The greater part of the foreigners attended the University during several years; but, for the sake of brevity, their names are not repeated.

List of Foreign Students at St. Andrews.

An. 1588.

Isaie Chevallier *.

Gulielmus Oustæus.

* This individual was made A.M. in 1592, under the designation of "Isaïus Chevalerius, Francus Rupellensis."

1591.

Jacobus Maceus, Gallus.
 Petrus Thubinus, Gallus.

1594.

Joannes Burdigallæus.
 Claudius Heraldus, Niortensis Gallus.
 Georgius Rincoius, natione Gallus Rupellencia.
 Isaacus Cuvillus, natione Gallus Sammaxantinus.
 Daniel Coupeus, natione Gallus Andegavensis.
 Daniel Chanelus, natione Gallus Rupellensis.
 Joannes Vignæus, Gallus Nannetensis.

1595.

Andreas Swendius, Nobilis Danus.
 Petrus Gombaldus.
 Petrus Chevaltus.
 Joannes Guvinellus.
 Antonius Massonus.
 Joannes Raymondus.
 [Christophorus Johannides, Danus *.]

1596.

Joannes Doucherus.
 Jacobus Tholoscus.
 Petrus Menancellus.
 Goddæus, Belga.
 Gallus.
 Gallus.

1597.

Georgius Rouellus.
 Jacobus Weland.

* This name does not occur in the Records, but it is added on the authority of the following printed Thesis: "De Prædestinatione, sive De Causis Salytis et Damnationis Æternæ Disputatio, in qua præside D. ANDRÆA MELVINO, Sacrar. Literarum Professore, et rectore Academiarum Regiæ Andream in Scotia, Deo volente, CHRISTOPHORVS JOHANNIDES DANVS respondet. Edinburgi Excudebat Robertvs Waldegræue Typographus Regius. 1595."

1598.

Jacobus Rouellus.**Gerhardus Kreuterus, Germanus Hassus Herffendensis.**

1599.

Jacobus Cokstochius, (Kosteckj) Polonus.**Samuel Leonardus Rassieski, Polonus.****Joan. Casimirus Francisci Junii F Heidelbergensis
Germanus.****Daniel Demetrius, Franckendalensis.****Joannes Schesensius.****Raphael Colinus.**

1600.

Joannes Valace, Belga.**Tobias Merbeckius, Belga *.****Gulielmus Teellingius.****Samuel Gerobulus R.**

1601.

Johannes Quada à Ravesteyn.**Isaacus Massilius.****Petrus à Scharlahen.****Jobus Danche, Dordracenus.****Andreas Michael.****Guilielmus Latinus.**

1603 †.

Albertus Lothoffell, Regiomontanus Borussus.**Christianus Hoffmeister, Regiomontanus Borussus.****Hugo Trajanus.**

1604.

Joannes Gascus.

1606.

Johannes Bocharius, Belga.

* See Ames Typ. Ant. p. 1521.

† The register of the New College from 1603 to 1607 is almost a blank.

Jonas Charisius Severinus, Haffniensis Danus.
 Petrus Petrejus, Hiennius Danus.
 Johannes Rhodius, Danus.

1607.

Michael Parisius, Gallus, commendatus Collegio ab Ecclesia
 Diepens.
 Martinus Claudius, Danus.
 [Claudius, Danus.]
 [Andreas Paulie *.]

1609.

Ericus Julius, Nobilis Danus.
 Petrus Magnus, Danus.
 Andreas Claudius, Danus.
 Magnus Martini, Danus.
 David Bariandus.

1610.

Francisco à Parisiis, Italus Neapolitanus.
 David Barjon, Gallus Aquitanus.
 Andreas Andree, Danus.

From 1610 to 1616, only one new foreign name occurs. From 1616 to 1633, there is a considerable number of them, including a Neapolitan.

Foreign Students at Glasgow.

1585 †.

Isaac Mazerius, Gallus.

1589.

Jeremias Barbæus, Celta.

* In the Testament of Walter Ramsay, oconomus of St. Salvator's College, who deceased 12 Sept. 1611, are the following articles among "dettis awand to the deid."—"It. be Martine Claudii Dutchman for himself & his twa brether 40 lib. 6 s. 8 d.

It. be Androu Paulie Dutchman as rest of his buird 9 lib."

† During this year Melville was at Glasgow. See vol. i. p. 269.

2 K 2

1590.

Petrus Buybertus, Celta.
Honoratus Guibivit, Celta.
Josua Buybertus, Celta.

1593.

Johannes Riuetus, Celta.
Jacobus Choquetus, Celta.
Salomon Cailhaudus, Celta.
Renatus Pasquivius, Celta.
Joannes Blackivian, Celta.

1595.

Petrus Baalus, Celta.
Jacobus Thirellus, Celta.
Theodorus Thyrellus, Celta.
Renatus Osseus, Celta.
Carolus Ossæus, Celta.
Gulielmus Riuetus, Celta.

1598.

Petrus Pagodus, Celta.
Petrus Verngodus, Celta.

No other foreign names occur in the Records, unless in 1623—1624, when Cameron was principal of the University.

Foreign Students at Edinburgh.

An. 1592.

Gulielmus Oustæus, minister verbi.
Daniel Plateus, Gallus provincia.
Gabriel Bounerin, Gallus.

1595.

Thomas Maserius, Gallus.

1597.

Joannes Olivarius, Gallus.

J. Baldoynus, Gallus.

[Mr. Æelt *.]

1598.

Joannes Argerius, Gallus.

Petrus Balloynus, Gallus.

Honorius Argerius, Gallus.

Stephanus Baldoynus.

1600.

Joachimus Dubouchel, Gallus.

Theodorus Du Bouizet, Gallus.

Joannes Wardin, Xanctoniensis.

1614.

Petrus Cosselius, Gallus Diepensis.

1629.

Joannes Fabritius, Genevensis.

NOTE T. p. 409.

Parochial Schools.—The Record of the “Synod of that part of the Diocie of St. Andrews q^{lk} lyeth benorth Forth” contains a report of the visitation of parishes in the years 1611 and 1613. This report affords, perhaps, one of the best means of ascertaining the exact state of schools within a short time before the first legislative enactment on this subject. It must be recollected, however, in any inferences that may be drawn from it, that the visitation by no means extended to all the parishes within the bounds of the Transforthian division of the diocese of St. Andrews.

The parishes of Tannadice, Perth, Fettercairn, Straybrock, Falkland, Forgound, Ebdie or Newburgh, Innerkillor, Barrie or Panbryde, Kinfaunds, Kinnaird, Inchtute and Benvie, Mains and Strickmartine, Bruntisland, Inneraretie and Mathie, and Errol, were provided with schools. Those of Rascobie, Ferry of port on Craig, St. Vigeans, Kilespindie and Rait, Liff, Logie and Innergowrie, Muirhous,

* Mons. Æelt writes a letter from Edinburgh, April 5, 1597, to Mons. Tuile, minister at Mouchap, recommending Robert Boyd of Trochrig. He speaks of several of his countrymen having gone to study at Glasgow.

and Manifuith, were destitute of schools. Thus the parishes which had schools were more than double in number to those which wanted them. Where they were wanting, the visitors ordered them to be set up, and where the provision for the master was defective, they made arrangements for remedying the evil. The following are extracts. "Forgound, August 14, 1611.—The skole entertained, and for the better provision of it thair is ordained that ilk pleuch in the parochie sall pay to the skolemaister xijjs. iiijd. and ilk bairne of the parochie sall pay vis. viijd. in the quarter. Strangers that are of ane uther parochie sall pay xx. or xxxs. as the maister can procur: As it is agried in uther congregationis." This was "the common order."—"Straybrok, July 1, 1611. It is ordenit w^t cōmmon consent that the parochineris sall give among them all for the maintenance of the scoole and scoolmaister yeirlie fyftie merkis, and the minister sall give iiij libs."—"April, 1613.—It is reported that as yet y^r cannot be had ane grammer scole in Bruntialand, the counsell of the toune being slaw yⁿ and contenting y^mselfis w^t ane q^o teiches y^r bairnes to reid and wreite. Forsameikle as it was anes concludit in ane visitatione that ane grammer scole salbe had w^tin that bruche and it is most necess^r that it be so, y^rfore it is ordained that letters be rased upon the act of visitat^on." I do not know on what authority these letters were raised unless it were the 7th act of the parliament 1603. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 16.) The visitors tried the qualifications of the teachers. "Perth, Apr. 18, 1611.—Mr Patrik Makgregor scolem^r found to have passed his course of philosophy in St Leonard's College—approved."

There is frequent reference to the trial and inspection of schoolmasters in all the registers of the church courts. "Andrew dischington schoolm^r of Dunbar. The act of the last synodall assembly giving the presbyterie commission to try Andro dischington schoolmaster of Dunbar not only in his hability to travell in the ministry but also to teache ane grammer schoole being presentit to the presbyterie the brethren ordainit him to cum heir yis day aucht dayes and for beginning of his tryall to teache ane piece of the first booke of the georgyckes of Virgill at the beginning y^of to try quhither he be able to teache ane grammer schoole or not." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington, Sept. 4, 1694.)—"It wes ordanit be the presbyterie that the haill schoolmⁿ w^tin yair bounds sould be chargit to compeir befor thame that thay my^t not only knaw how yai wer abill to instruct the yow^t. Bot also charge thame to keip the exercise that yai my^t be

the better frequented with the heids of religioun." (Ibid. June 2, 1596.)

The following extracts from the Record of the Kirk Session of Anstruther Wester convey curious information both as to the customs of the times, and as to the zeal with which the education of the youth was urged. "Oct. 26, 1595. Anent the complent given in by Henrie Cuninghame doctor in the schooll the Session thinks meit, that all the yowth in the toun be caused com to the schooll to be taught. and that sic as are puir shall be furnished vpon the cōmone expenses and gif ony puir refuiss to com to scholl, help of sic thing as thay neid and requir shall be refused to them. And as for sic as are able to sustein their barnes at the schooll & do their dewitie to the teacher for them, thay shall be commandit to put them to the school that they may be brought vp in the feir of God and vertue. qlk if thay refuse to do, thay shall be callit before the session & admonished of ther dewetie and if efter admonition they mend not then farther order shall be taken w^t them at the discretion of the session And the magistrates & counsall shall be desyred to tak fra them the quarter payments for ther child and ane dewetie efter ther discretion for the dayes meat as it shall cō abovt vnto them, whidder they put ther bairnes to the schooll or not."—"18 of November. Anent the puirs it is thought meit that a visitation shall be, and that sic help shall be maid to them that ar altogether vnable that may not travell to seik to them selfs and the yowng shall get na almess bot on condition that thay com to the schooll, qlk sa mony as does shall be helpit, and the manner of ther help shall be thay shall haif thrie hours granted to them everie day throw the town to seik ther meat, ane hour in the morning fra nyn to ten, at midday fra twell to ane, and at nyght fra sax hours furth and the peiple are to be desyred to be helpful to sic as will give themself to any vertue, and as for others to deall lyardly w^t them to dryve them to seik efter vertue."—"Apr. 18, 1596. Euerie man within the town that hes bairnes suld put his bairnes to the schoolle and for everie bsirne suld giv ten sh. in the quarter and be fred of given meat bot at y^r owning plesure."—"Sept 7, 1600. Item anent the schooll agreid w^t henrie Cūnyngnam that the pure of the town shall be put to the [school] and sa many of them as has ingyne and he takes paines upone shall giv fyv sh. in the quarter qlk the session sall pay, he shall try out the bairnes they sall be broght befor the session be the elders of the quarters the session sall enter them to the scoll and try their perfiting & sa caus recompens according to his paines & ther p^rfiting and as for vther y^t are not able

to p^rfit y^t thay may reid or wret, whidder it be for want of ingyn or tym to await on, sic sall be caused to learn the Lordes prayer the cōmādes & belev the heades of the catechisme y^t ar demanded on the examination to the communion q^{lk} travell also the session will acknowledge and recompense and as for the standing yearlie dewetic referes that to the counsell of the town to tak orde^r w^t." (Record, ut sup.)

NOTE U. p. 413.

Alexander Hume.—Three persons of this name studied in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews: one of them was laureated in 1571, another in 1572, and the third was made bachelor of arts in 1574.

1. *Mr. Alexander Hume, Minister of Dunbar.*—He continued in this situation from the year 1582 to 1601. "Mr. Alexander Home, minister, presented to the personage of Dunbar, vacand be demission of Mr. Andro Symmsoun, Sept. 13, 1582." (Reg. of Presentations, vol. ii. f. 77.) "Mr. James Home, minister, resident at the kirk of Dunbar, presented to the personage of the same be demission of Mr. Alex. Home, May 21, 1601." (Reg. Sec. Sig. lib. lxxii. f. 56.) The latter appears to have retained his designation. "Mr. Alex. Home, persone of Dunbar," and "Mr. James Home, minister at Dunbar," are witnesses to a deed, May 27, 1605. (Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cix.) "Mr. Alexander Home of Houndwood, sumtyme person of Dunbar," died in December, 1623. (Testament in Rec. of Commissary Court of Edin.) He appears to have been a half-brother of Sir George Home of Broxmouth. (Test. of Janet Gibson, Lady Broxmouth, *ibid.* Dec. 1, 1589.)

2. *Mr. Alexander Hume, Minister of Logie.*—He was the author of "Hymnes or Sacred Songs," and is mentioned as "sone to umq^{le} Pat. Home of Polwart." (Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cxix. May 28, 1606.) "Mr. Alex. Home, min^r at Logie, and Marioun Duncansone, dochter of Jo^a Duncansone, minister to the kingis Mat^{ie}, his spous." (Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cvii. May 30, 1605.) He was admitted minister of Logie in August, 1597; and died on the 4th of December, 1609. (Record of the Presbytery of Dunblane.) "Mr. Alex^r Home, minister at Logie, beside Stirling,—has left ane admonitione in write behinde him to the Kirk of Scotland, wherein he affirms that the bishops who were then fast risinge up hes left the sincere ministers," &c. (Row's Hist. pp. 94, 95.)

3. *Mr. Alexander Hume, the Grammarian.*—He, I am inclined to think, was the author of all the books which appeared under the name of Alexander Hume, with the exception of the *Hymns*. He

has given an account of himself in the preface to his *Grammatica Nova*. To his Treatise on the Lord's Supper is prefixed an Epistle "to Mr. John Hamilton, his olde regent." He was incorporated at Oxford, Jan. 26, 1590, as "M.A. of St. Andrews, Scotland." (Wood's *Fasti*, by Bliss, 217.) Could he be the author of *Humil Theses, Marpurgi, 1591*? He was principal master of the High School of Edinburgh, from 1596 to 1606, when he went to Prestonpans. He had left the latter place in 1615, and appears to have become master of the grammar school of Dunbar. Charters, (*Acco. of Scot. Writers*, p. 3,) and Sibbald, (*De Script. Scot.* p. 3,) call him schoolmaster of Dunbar. "Mr. Alexander Hume, schoolmaster of Dunbar," is a witness to a deed, June 24, 1623; (*Gen. Reg. of Deeds*, vol. cccxli.) and to another, Nov. 27, 1627. (*Ibid.* vol. cccxcix.)

His Grammar is entitled, "*Grammatica nova in usum juventutis Scotiæ ad methodum revocata. Ab Alexandro Humeo, ex antiqua et Nobili Gente Humeorum, artium Magistro. Et auctoritate senatus, omnibus Regni Scholis imperata. Edinburgi—1612.*" 12mo. (Copy in the Library of the High School of Edinburgh.) The words here printed in Italics are not in the common copies. The author had previously published *Latin Rudiments*. (*Gram. Part. ii.* p. 25.) The tract entitled *Bellum Grammaticale* was not composed, but only revised by Hume. It is a humorous tragi-comedy, in which the different parts of speech are arrayed on opposite sides, in a contest concerning the respective claims of the noun and verb to priority. It is probable that it was acted by the boys in schools. He left behind him, in MS. a compend of Buchanan's History (in *Bibl. Jurid. Edin.*) and a grammatical tract, probably in defence of his own grammar. (*Ruddimanni Bibl. Rom.* p. 61. Sibbald, *De Script. Scot.* p. 3.) His Grammar was appointed to be used in all schools, both by the Privy Council and Parliament. (*Grammat. Part. ii. Ad Lect. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot.* iv. 157, 374. *Act. Secr. Concil.* Feb. 1610—Oct. 1612. *Minute Book of Processes before the Privy Council*, Sept. 1611, and July, 1612.) Hume, in a letter to Melville, Dec. 6, 1612, gives an account of the opposition which his work had encountered. (*Melvini Epistolæ*, p. 309.) Casaubon, in a letter to Hume, denies having prepossessed the King against his Grammar, but does not conceal his disapprobation of it. (*Casauboni Epistolæ*, ab Almeloveen, *epist.* 878.) That learned man represents it as an imitation of Ramus. Hume expressly allows that Ramus had not succeeded in Grammar. (*Grammat. Part. i. Ad Lect.*)

NOTE V. p. 414.

Improvements on the High School of Edinburgh.—The following minutes of Town Council contain the earliest regulations for this seminary that I have observed.

“ July 21, 1598. The samin day the forme and ordour of thair Grammer schole being presentit and red before thame They ratifyet and approve the samin And ordanis it to be registrat in thair Counsall buiks quhairof the tenor followis.

“ The opinioun Counsall and advyse of the rycht honorabill Mr. John prestoun of barnis ane of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice Mrⁿ Jhone scherp Thomas Craig John Nicolsoun John Russell William Oliphant & James Donaldsoun advocates Mr. Robert Rollock principall of the colledge of Ed^r Henry Nesbit provost Alex. Peirsoun James Nesbit baillies of Ed^r William Napier deyne of gild of the saymn Mrⁿ Walter balcanquill James Balfour and William Watson ministers at Ed^r Mr William Scott writter convenit in the said colledge 26 Dec. 1597 for provyding of Maisters to the Grammer schole of Ed^r as follows :

“ In primis Thay think best and expedient that thair be foure lernet and godlie men appointit regents to teache the Grammer schole of Ed^r in all time cumming be foure severall classes in manner following.

“ The first clas and regent thairof sall teache the first and second rudiments of Dumbar with the Colloques of Corderius And on Sunday Catechesis palatinatus. The second regent sall teache the rules of the first part of Pelisso with Cicerois familiar epistilles And to mak sum version thryse in the oulk And to teache thame on sonday *the foresaid Catechise laitlie sett out in latine* * *with ouid de tristibus*. The third regent sall teache the second part of Pelisso with the supplement of Erasmus Sintaxis Terence The Metamorphosis of Ouide with buquhannanis psalms on Sunday.

“ The ferd sall teache the third part of Pelisso with Buquhannanis Prosodia, Taleus figures & rhetoric figure Constructionis Thome Linacri Virgelius Salustius Cesaris Commentaria & florus Ouidij epistole and the heroick psalmes of Buquhannane on Sunday.

“ Ilkane of the foresaids four regentis sall teache thair clas in severall howssis and to this effect the hie schole sall be devydit in four howssis be thre parpennis.

* “ The Catechesis laitlie sett out in latin verse.” (Minute of Oct. 19, 1598, fol. 206, b.)

" Item to the effect thair may be the better harmonye betwix the saidis four regentis in their procedour and teacheing and that thai may the bettir answer for their dewtie dischairges simpliciter maisters or others persons quhatsumevir of teacheing of ony rudiments or ony uther buik of latine in ony of thair lecture scholis Swa that the first regent may be the mair answerabill in grunding and instructing thame in Rudiments.

" It is alwayis provydit in favoures of the lecture scholis That nane sall be resauet in the said first clas bot he quha can reid first perfectlie Inglis with sum writt and the said first regent sall nawayes be sufferit to teache any the first a b c in reding.

" Item the said ferd regent sall be principall of the said schole and regentis and have the owersicht of thame all viz he sall sie and animadvert that every ane of the regents keip thair awin houres maner and forme of teacheing presentlie sett doune and that thai and ilkane of thame continuallie awaitt all the day lang upoun the schole in teaching & exemining thair bayrnis And that all the saids regents the principall as well as the other thrie infireouris ilkane of thame teache thair awin class and that ilkane of thame use correction upoun thair awin disciples except in greit & notorious falts all the foure to be assemblit in ane hous and have the principall regent to puneis the same.

" Item the Regent of Humanitie erectet in the college sall teache zearlie y^e Rhetorick of Cassander The oraciounis of Cicero And sall caus his schollers owiklie mak schort declamationns.

" Item he sall teache Horace Juvenall Plautus The greik grammer with certane greik authores And as the bayrnis learnis ane Oracioun of Cicero he sall caus thame every ane of thame severally declame the samyn publiclie in the schole.

" Convenit in the Counsale hous 9 Jan^{ry} 1697 Be directioun of the kirk and Counsell zisderday The provost James Nesbit Alex^r Peirson baillies with Mr. Walter balcanquill & Mr. William Watsoun ministers Mr. James Donaldson & Mr. William Scott Agreyes that the persones following Mr. George Haisting sall be the first regent Laurence Pacok second Mr. Jhoun Balfour thrid & Mr. Alex. Home ferd and principall & sall gif ane pruf of their teacheing quhill mertymes next allanerlie And to begin at Candilmas next And to publeis sucht dayes before be proclamatioun throw the town the provisioun of the Grammer schole with sufficient maisters That the bayrnis may convene.

" Hes thoct guid to mak the feyis and quarter payments of the

saidis regents in this maner viz The first & secund regents sall haif quarterlie ilkane threttein schilling four pennis The thrid fyfteen schillings and the ferd and principall twenty shillings.

"Thair feyis the first and secund ilk ane twenty pund The thrid fourty merks and the principall twa hunder merks The samin day the foresaidis provests baillies and Counsall dischairges all masters regents and teachers of bayrnis in thair Grammer schole of all craving & resaving of any bleyis sylver of their barynis and scholers As alswe of any bent sylver exceptand four pennis at ane tyme allanerlie." (Register of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. x. fol. 193, b.)

The following minute shews that the Town Council were on the eve of destroying an institution which has done them so much honour. It is probable that the bad humour of some foolish individual had hurried them into the rash resolution, which is never afterwards alluded to in the minutes. "September 2nd, 1601. The sam day after lang deliberatioun fynds guid yat yair hie schole be brocht to y^e awld ordo^r of ane maister and ane schole And to alter and discharge the last forme of four maisters & fo^r scholes In respect yat y^e said maisters keippet nocht y^e ordo^r gevin yame Q^rby many inconvenients hes followet And ordanis Thomas fyscheares & Pat^rk Sandelands to report y^e sam to y^e foure Sessiouns of y^e kirk That forder ordo^r may be tane w^t the said schole." (Ibid. vol. xi. f. 55.)

"Nov. 9, 1614. The quhilk day the Provost baillies &c. Ordanis in all tyme cuming Mr Johnne Rea m^r of thair hie scoole To keip and observe the reullis and ordouris following In teiching the schollers of the samine Imprimis that the Rudimentaris be all under ane *doctor* And that Dumbar Rudiments be onlie taught as maist approved & resavit in the cuntrie the first pairt whair of is ane introduction to the first pairt of the Despauteris grammer and the uthir part serveing as ane introduction to the second pairt of Despauter And that thair be conjoynit thairwith the vocables of Stanisburgius for practise of declyning dicta sapientum and the distiches of Cato, As for praxis to the wther pairt of the rudimentis.

"That the second classe learn Despauters first pairt and conjoyne thairwith Corderius Minora Colloquia Erasmi The select epistles of Cicero Collectit be Sturmius And quhowson thay enter into the thrid buik of the first pairt That thair be exerceisit in theamis and versionis alternis.

"That the third classe learne Despauters second pairt and thairwith the familiar epistles of Cicero his treatise de Senectute or de Amicitia and that Terence be ever ane of their lessones And gif it

be fund gude to gif thame sum ingress in poesie for interpretatioun as of Ovides epistles or his tristis As also to hald tham exerceisit in theamis and epistles.

" And that the fird classe learne the third and fourt pairtis of Despauter with some fables of Ovid his metamorphose or Virgill adjoyning thairwith Quintus Curtius or Cesaris Commentaris And gif thai be mair capable Suetonius And that thair exercises be in versiounis making of Theamis braking and making of versis as thair spirits servis thame.

" And that the hie classe learne the Rhetorique some of Cicero his Oratiounes or de Oratore or de Claris Oratoribus Salust Plantus Horace Juvenale Persius And that thai be exercised in Oratiounis Compositiounis versiouns and in verse quhois gift serves thaim And that prose and verse be taught alternative And to teitche the greik gramēr *Lyesiod* and *Theogius*. (*Hesiod* and *Theognis* ?)

" And that thair be repetitiouns and disputes everie oulk siclyk tuiyse publict examinatiounis yeirlie in presence of the ministeris and magistratis The first to be in the begining of May and the uthir the twentie day of October quhen the hie classe passis to the College And that nane be sufferit to assend in the schoole or pas to the College bot quha efter examination ar Judgit worthie." (Ibid. vol. xii. fol. 167, b.)

NOTE W. P. 414.

Grammar School of Prestonpans.—The following is the account of Hume's admission to this school:—" At hadintoun y^e 25 of Junij 1606. The q^{lk} day Mr Joⁿ ker minister of y^e panis productit y^e prēntat^{one} of Mr Alex^r hoomie to be schoolm^r of y^e Schoole of y^e panis foundit be Mr Joⁿ Davedsone for instructioun of the youth in hebrew greek and latine subscryvet be yais to quhome Mr Joⁿ davedsone gave power to noiāt y^e man q^{lk} prēntat^{one} y^e prēbrie allowit and ordenit y^e moderator & clerk to subscribe y^e samine in y^r names q^{lk} yay ded. As also ordeanit y^t y^e said kirk of y^e panis suld be visited vpon y^e eight day of Julij next to come for admisioun of y^e said Mr Alex^r to y^e said office The visitors wer appoyntit Mr Ar^d oswald Mr Robert Wallace Mr George greir Mr andro blackhall & Mr andro Maghye to teach."—" At Saltprestoun, July 8, 1606. The hail parishoners being poisit how yay lyckit of y^e said Mr Alex^r w^t vniforme consent being particularly inqwyrit schew y^r guid lycking of him and y^r willingnes to accept and receiv him to y^e said office Q^{rupon} y^e said Mr Alex^r wes admittit to y^e said office & in token of y^e approba^{one} both

of visitors & of y^e parischonēs p^rnt both y^e ane and y^e vother tuik y^e said Mr Alex^r be y^e hand & y^e haill magistratis gentlemen and remanēt parischoners p^rnt faithfullie p^rmisit to cōcurre for y^e furtherace of y^e work y^t yit restis to be done to y^e said schoole as also to keipt y^e said Mr Alex^r and his scholleris skaithilis finallie for farther authorizing of y^e said (*sic*) it wes thought meitt y^t y^e haill visitors & parichonēs p^rnt suld enter y^e said Mr Alex^r into y^e said schoole & y^r heir him teache q^lk also wes doone." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.)

The Parliament in the course of that year, erected "in ane parochie kirk," the kirk builded "be the labouris paynis and expenses of umq^l Mr Johne dauidson" and ratefied the school founded and doted by him "for teaching of Latin grek and Hebrew toungis." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 302.)

In a charter, granted Nov. 19, 1615, by John Hamilton of Preston, as superior of the lands on which the kirk and school were built, it is narrated, that the late Mr. John Davidson had deserved highly of the whole church and commonwealth, and particularly of the parish of Saltpreston, "he having preached for many years in this parish without any fee or reward, built at his own expence a splendid church, furnished with a large clock, a manse, garden, and other pertinents, with an acre of arable land for a glebe to the minister; and having resolved (as appears from his testament) to sell his whole patrimonial inheritance, consisting of valuable houses and lands in Dunfermline, and to devote the whole produce to the support of the church and ministry of the said parish, which purpose he would have carried into execution if he had not been prevented by death." It then goes on to state: "Dictus quondam Magister Joannes Dauidson Aream quondam vulgo vocat. harlaw hill," &c. "On an area which he purchased from me he finished an excellent house to serve as a school for the education of the youth of the parish in good letters, sciences, and virtue, [a dwelling-house for the master is afterwards specified] and to furnish a stipend for the master of the school he bequeathed all his moveables, to wit, his household furniture, his clother, his library, consisting of a large collection of books of all kinds, his bills and obligations for debts owing him, and all the money in his possession, with the exception of certain legacies to his friends." (Charter of Mortification, among the Papers of the Kirk Session of Prestonpans.)

It appears from this document that Davidson was a native of Dun-

fermline. "Mag^r Joannes Dalzel" was master of the grammar school, when this charter was granted, and continued to hold that situation in 1623. (Gen. Reg. of Decrees, vol. cccclxvi. 17 July, 1633.)

NOTE X. p. 433.

Of Welwood's Experiments.—The patent was granted to him and John Geddy. "Knowing alsua that the advancement of curious and quick spreittis yat heirtfoir hes be their singulare ingyne inventit—ony perfyct art or deuise—is gretelie to be helpit, fauourd and supportit—thairfor vnderstanding yat his hienes belouit clerkis Mr. W^m Walwode and Mr. Johnie geddy—hes be yair awin singular moeyen naturall industrie curious Ingynis and knowledge in sciences Inventit—an easie perfite and suddane way of eleuatioun of watteris out of coill pottis sinkis and vtheris low places, heirtfoir neuir hard or at the liest neuir put in practize within this his hienes realme, &c. Gevand license &c." Nov. 13, 1577. (Record of Privy Seal, vol. xlv. f. 116.)

The book in which he explains his plan is entitled, "*Gvilielmi Velvod de Aqva in altum per fistulas plumbeas facile exprimenda apologia demonstratiua. Edinburgi apud Alexandrum Arbuthnetum, Typographum Regium, 1582.*" Six leaves in 4to. The dedication is dated "*Andreapoli pridie nonas Nouembris 1582.*" Prefixed to it is a copy of verses by Melville. If Welwood had persevered in his experiments he might have accidentally made the discovery which afterwards occurred to Galileo. He proposed to produce the effect by means of a leaden pipe bent into a syphon and extended on the exterior so as to discharge the water at a point below the surface of the well. Having shut up the two extremities of the pipe, he introduces water into both its legs, by an aperture at the upper point or elbow of the syphon, till they are completely full; and then closing this aperture with great exactness, and opening both ends of the syphon, he maintains that the water will flow out of the exterior or longer leg, as long as there is any in the well. It cannot, he argues, flow out of the short leg, for it has no head or difference of level to give it the power of issuing in that direction: It cannot flow out of both legs at the same time; for then it behoved it to separate somewhere in the middle, which, according to him, is impossible, as *nature abhors a vacuum*: Therefore, it must flow out of the well by the longer leg. The well is supposed to be 45 cubits deep; for our author was

not possessed of the important fact that water will not rise to a height above 33 feet. In other respects the principles of his demonstration are not more unscientific than those which Galileo would have employed sixty years after the time of Welwood.

In the year 1598, the parliament granted to two individuals the sole right of making certain "pompis for raising and forceing of wateris—furth of mynes," &c. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 176.)

APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

No. I. [Orig. Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. num. 15, 24.]

Letter from George Buchanan to Sir Thomas Randolph.

To his singular freynd M. Randolph maister of postes
to the queines g. of England. In london.

I resauit twa pair of lettres of you sens my latter wryting to you.
wyth the fyrst I resauit Marianus Scotus, of quhylk I thank you
greatly, and specialy that your ingles men are fund liars in thair cro-
nicles allegyng on hym sic thyngs as he never said. I haif beyne
vexit wyth seiknes al the tyme sens, and geif I had decessit ye suld
haif losit both thankis and reeompens, now I most neid thank you
bot geif wear brekks vp of thys foly laityly done on the border, than I
wyl hald the recompense as Inglis geir. bot gif peace followis and
nother ye die seik of mariage or of the twa symptomes following on
mariage quhylys ar jalozie and cuccaldry, and the gut cary not me
away, I most other find sum way to pay or ceis kyndnes or ellis geif-
ing yp kyndnes pay zou wt evil wordis, and geif thys fasson of deal-
ing pleasit me I haif reddy occasion to be angry wyth you that haif
wissit me to be ane kentys man, quylk in a maner is ane centaur half
man, half beast. and yit for ane certaine consideration I wyl pas
over that iniury, imputyng it erar to your new foly than to ald wis-
dome, for geif ye had beine in your ryt wyt ye being anis escapit the
tempesteous stormes and naufrage of mariage had never enterit agane
in the samyng dangeris. for I can not take you for ane Stoik philo-
sopher, having ane head inexpugnable wt the frenetyk tormētis of Ja-
lozie, or ane cairless [*margin, skeptik*] hart that taks cuccaldris as
thyng indifferent. In this caise I most neidis præfer the rude Scottis

wyt of capitaine Coeburne to your inglis solomonical sapience, quhylk wery of ane wyfe delinierit hir to the queyne againe, bot you delinierit of any wyfe castis your self in the samyn nette, et *ferre potes dominam saluis tot restibus ullam*. and so capitaine cockburne is in better case than you for his seiknes is in the feitte and zouris in the heid. I pray you geif I be out of purpose thynk not that I suld be maryit. bot rather consider your awyn dangerouse estait of the quhylk the spoking has thus troublit my braine and put me so far out of the way. As to my occupation at this present tyme, I am besy w^t our story of Scotland to purge it of sum Inglis lyeis and Scottis vanite, as to maister knoks his historie is in hys freindis handis, and thai ar in cōsultation to mitigat sum part the acerbite of certaine wordis and sum taintis quhair in he has followit to much sū of your inglis writaris as M. hal et *suppilatore* eius Graftone &c. As to M. Beza I fear y^t eild quhylk has put me from verses making sal deliure him sone a Scabie poetica, quhylk war ane great pitye for he is ane of the most singular poetes that has beine thys lang tyme. as to your great prasyng gevin to me in your lfe geif ye scorne not I thank you of luif and kyndnes towart me bot I am sorie of your corrupt iugement. heir I wald say mony iniuries to you war not yat my gut cōmandis me to cease and I wyl als spair mater to my nixt writings. Fairweall and god keip you. at Sterling the Sext of august

Be youris at al power

G. BUCHANAN.

No. II. [Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vii. 11.]

*Extract of a Letter from Henry Woddrington to Secretary Walsingham.
1582, Maii 26.*

Upon Wednesday evening the xxiii^d of this instant Mr John Dury preached in the Cathedrall church of Edenbrough where diuers noble men were present the effect therof tending to the reproof of the bishop of Glasco as playnly tearmyng him an apostate and maynsworne traytor to god and his church And that even as the scribes and pharises could fynd none so mete to betray Christ as one of his owne schollers & disciples even so this duke with the rest of his faction can not fynd so mete an instrument to subuert the religion planted in Scotland as one of their owne nombre, one of their owne brethrine, and one nourished amonge their owne bowels.—And lykewise he touched

the present sent by the duke of Guyse to the k. in this manner of speeches.

I pray you what should move Guyse that bluddy p^rsecutor, y^t enemy vnto all treuth, that pilier of the pope to send this present, by one of his trustiest servants vnto o^r k. ? not for any love no. no. his pretence is knowen. And I beseech the lord the church of Scotland feale y^t not ouersone. The k. matie was perswaded not to receave y^t for why? what amytie or freindshipp can we looke for at his hands who hath bene the bluddiest persecutor of the professors of the trothe in all france neither was any notable murder or havock of gods, but he was at that in person. And yet for all this the duke and Arrain will nedes haue o^r king to take a present from him.

If god did threaten the captivitie and spoyle of Herusalem because that there king Hsekia did receave a life and present from the king of Babylon, shall we think to be free cōmytting the like or rather worse? And because yo^u my ll^a w^{ch} both doe see me and even at this p^rnt heares me I say because you shall not be hereafter excusable I tell yo^u that tho^u with teares. I feale such confusion to ensewe, y^t I feare me, will be the subuersion and ruine of the preaching of gods Evgangle here in the church of Scotland. I am the more playne wth you because I knowe their is some of yo^w in the same action wth the rest. I knowe I shalbe called to an accompt for thes words here spoken, but let them doe with this carkasse of myne what they will for I knowe my sowle is in the hands of the lorde and therefore I will speake & that to yo^r condemnaōn vnlesse yo^u spedely returne.

And then in his prayers made he prayd vnto the Lord either to convert or confound y^e duke.

The sermon was very longe, godly, and plaine, to the great comfort and reioice of the most nombre that herd yt, or doe here of yt. And for thes points w^{ch} I am enformed of I thought yt convenyent to signifye the same vnto yo^r honor.

No. III. [Orig. Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 3.]

Letter of Andrew Melville to T. Savile and G. Carleton.

Doctissimis adolescentibus et amicis integerrimis D. Th.
Savile et G. Carletono Oxoniensibus. Oxonium.

Humanitas erga me vestra incredibilis, et amor in vos meus singu-

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laris flagitabant a me iamdiu literas: easq ad singulos vestrum precipuas potius, quam utrunq communes. Verum nec antea quidquam ad vos literarum dedij, iis de causis, quas facilius est vobis existimare quam mihi scribere: et nunc demũ, cum a me vt scribam impetro, non ausim disiungere epistolã, quos tot interiores literæ, tanta morum similitudo bonorum, tam præclara honestissimarum artium studia arctioribus amicitie vinculis coniungunt: nec distrahi patitur anteactæ vitæ iucundissima consuetudo. Quare vos, pro vestram istam veterem, et nuperam hanc inter nos amicitiam oro atq obtestor, vt præteritam cessationem meam mihi pro vestra humanitate condonetis: et has vnas ad vtrunq literas, binarum aut etiam plurum, ad singulos vestrum loco esse patiamini: Nec me propterea non virum bonum esse putetis, si vobis videar duos parietes de eadem fidelis dealbare: Quamquam pictorum mos est; tamen finitimus pictori poeta nec pigmentorum arcubis liberatior, quam liberior audendi licentia. Verum hæc parcius: ne dum me excuso, de Carletoni aut arte aut gloria detrahā. Cuius spiritu in poesi nihil generosius, nihil ecloga dulcius, nihil cultius aut argutius epigrammate: adeo vt, si omnia hoc modo scripserit, non solum æquales omnes superare, sed etiam cum omni antiquitate certare videatur. De munere literario, qua me re de facie quidem antea ignotum vterque vestrum affecistis, habeo gratiam; Vt cætera omittam humanitatis officia, tum ab vniversa fere academia in nos homines ignotos profecta, tum a vobis in me præcipue collata. Ita viuam vt nihil usquam viderem in omni vita splendidius aut magnificentius vestra academia: nihil gravius præceptoribus aut discipulis humanius: nihil vobis duobus aut amabilius aut amantius: *fortunati ambo: si quid mea carmina possunt*, etc. Immo tua Carletone potius, quæ plurimũ atque adeo omnia possunt ad te et alios a mortalitatis et oblivionis iniuria vindicandos. Ad quam mirificã in pangendis versibus felicitatem accedit incredibilis rerum mathematicarum scientia. Diuinum, Sauile, ingenium, et eruditio tanta, quantam in istam ætatem credere nunquam putauj. Quid multa? *μηνοὶ ἄλιον σκοπεῖ ἄλλο θαλασσοταυρον ἰσ ἀμυρα φαίνειν ἄστρον ἰσημεας δι' αὐτῆς*, &c. Verum de vobis alias et apud alios. Quod reliquum est, suauissime idemq doctissime Sauile, expectatione promissi tui fretus humanitate tua, moneor, vt admoneam te, non vt flagitem: quid est? fortasse inquis. Maniliana tua, vel, si manuis, Scaligerana, liceat mihi per te (vel tuo potius beneficio concedatur) ex intervallo regustata. Superiora tua in me beneficia hac etiam accessione (mihi crede) non parum cumulabis. Salutem a me et fratribus toti Academiæ et nominatim vestro collegij

prefecto cæterisq amicis communibus. Valet^e *to super*. Raptim Londini. 15 Decemb. 1584.

Vestri Studiosissimus

AND: MELVINUS.

No. IV. [Orig. Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 2.]

Archbishop Adamson to Archbishop Whitgift.

Pleis your grace immediatle after my retourninge in Scotland the king his maieste held his parliamēt where besides many loveable actis his hienes hath restored in integrū the estate of Bishops and hath contramandet the seignoreis presbitereis not only be good reasoun of Scripture and antiquite, bot likwayis in respect his hienes had livele experience, that they wer gret instrumētis of unquietnes and rebelioun be there populare disordor. I doubt not your G. hath beene sufficiētlie enformed of the late attemptatis moved be some of o^r nobilitie whervnto many ministeris being prive and their seignoreis and therefore not able to abyde the triall of the law are fugitive in Eng-land where they pretext as I am certeynle enformed, the caus of religioun albeit it be of an vndoubted truth, that they have no other caus bot there practizinge counsellinge and allowing of the last seditious factis and the refusinge of the lawfull authoritie of there ordinares the Bishops, whervnto notwithstanding the godle and quiet spirites wⁱⁿ the realme hathe willingle aggreit and subscryved The quhilk I have thoght most necessare to advertize your grace vpon whose shoulderis the care of the spirituall estate dothe cheffe repose, that your grace may be moste assured, that the king his maiestie o^r master his entention is with the sincerite of the word qlk his hienes in his heart dothe reverence, to conforme sik an police as may be an example to other cōmounwealthis, as I did show yo^r g. in particulare conferēc at yo^r awin hous of Lambeth, I am assured divers misreportis wilbe made vnto yo^r G. of the banishment of so many ministeris bot your g. shall beleve that there is never one banished, nether have they abiddin that notable sentence of Johnne Chrisostome, Ego ex hoc throno non discedam nisi imperatoria vi coactus, for they are fugitive onele vpon their awin guiltines Swa that I am moste assured if her maieste be your g. shalbe sufficiētlie enformed of the truthe, her hienes will not suffer sik slaunderous persounes vnder pretext of religioun to abyde in her countrey to infecte the estate of Englande

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w^t their seditious practises q^{lk} they have bene about to establis in this cuntry And for my awn parte your g. may assure her hienes albeit her m. hathe bene otherwayis enformed at my being in England, that after my small credite and habilitie I shall endeavor my self to the preserva^oun of the true religioun professit in the whole yle and comoun quietnes and mutuall amite of her m. and o^r master In the q^{lk} poynte if her m. had further employed me at that tyme I could have done what laye in me, But your g. knowis in what iclose my doings wer, albeit I protest afore god I ment nothing bot in sincerite of heart, wishing next o^r master best prosperitie to her hienes for the conservation of the truth in this ysland be there concorde. I shall not forgeit yo^r g. galloway naig, in testimonie of mutuall favor, when any opportunit comodite shall present the self be any sufficiēt berar, wishing heartle your g. welfare and to assist ws with your l. prayer, help and gudwill at her hienes hande in maynteyninge of this goode work against the pretended seignoreis, the end whereof tendis to evert monarcheis and destroy the scepto^r of princes and to confounde the whole estate and iurisdiction of the kirk q^{lk} I should be verie sore after so longe continewance of tyme to see decaye in our dayis, *Nostra secordia et ignavia qui ad clavum sedemus.* It wilbe your g. pleasor to salute my lorde bishope of London in my name and my lorde archbishop of york his grace for the goode enterntement I resaved at his house, thanking her hienes most humble therfore, committis your g. to the protectioun of god frome St Andross the 16 of Junij 1584

Yo^r gracis verie lovinge and assured
brother symmyste and cooperare
in the lord his vyneyard

PATRICK, Archbischof of St Sanctandross.

To my lorde his grace of Canterburie geove these.

No. V. [Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 54, 63, 78.]

*Extracts of Letters from William Davison to Secretary Walsingham,
concerning the Administration of Arran.*

Edinb. June 15, 1584.

— Upon a lfe written to the Magistrats of this towne by Mr. Ja: Lawson signifyinge the causes of his withdrawinge himself from his charge the k. had caused an answer to be drawn & sent hether to the said Magistrats & Burgesses to be subsigned by them charginge

Mr. Ja: and his fellowministers wth hereticall and seditious doctrine, wth other things verie hard in their reproche w^{ch} beinge presented vnto them and redd in open counsell the Provost who hathe ben heretofore condempned as a man to plyable to the hard commandments of this courte suddenlie brake forth into an exclamacon desireinge to lyve no longer as one that hadd alreadie seen too much of the miseryes to come vppon his country and immediatelie beinge readie to swonne in the counsell was conveiged home extreamlie sick and now lieth verie hardlie and not like to escape. Notwithstanding both he and the rest thought it good to deput certen of their companie to repaire vnto the k: wth their humble excuse and petition that thet might not be forced against their consciences to slaunder thos against whos integritie of lief and soundnes of doctrine thei cold never take exception, but in fine the p^rsons and l^fe are retorned with flatt charge to subscribe it in the forme it is or aunswer the contempt at their p^rills. The Secretary Mateland beinge appointed to see it don and to take the names of soche as shall refuse the same.

At St. Andrewes the Bushopp hathe in the meantyme played his part so well in the pursute of good men as that both the professors and students in the Colledge of Theologie haue abandoned the place and wthdrawen themselves for ther suerties where thei can find safest refuge.

Edinb. July, 1584.

—Mr. James Skeene, the Jesuit of whome I haue heretofore advertised your hono^r had as I credibly learne previe access [to a conference with 40 * at St. Andrewes It is assured me that [he hath] secrett cōmission both from 20 and others. & hath desyred sorely for the home coming of diuers of his fellow Jesuitts w^{ch} he hathe thus farr obteyned that they shall be ouirseen and not troubled by his Ma^{te} or his lawes so they will tak their hazard against the popular fury, & with this caution that they be not ouirhasty therein till matters be better settled w^{ch} trafficque wth him & others of his sorte doth wonderfully increase the fear & suspicion of this k. desertion or careles accompt of religion.—Your honor may have some gness of o^r good natures in Court by their sorrow for the murther of the poor pr. of orange w^{ch} 40 hath openly confessed to be such an end as he deserved. & is generally allowed and reioyced at amongst the most

* It appears from another letter of Davison, (Cal. C. viii. 78.) that 40 is the cipher for the King of Scotland.

part of our polittiques theare. Having written thus farr this letter being vnclosed till this morning by occasion of some expected aduysse from a friend or two I have in the mean tyme vnderstood that Mr. John Howeson minister of Paalay is apprehended & to pass on assyse the xxiith of this p^{nt} at Perth, for inveighing against the late acts of p^lliament & course taken against religion for w^{ch} he is lyk to be executed. And the whole Regents & others of the Colledge of Glas-cow for the same opinion sumoned super inquirendis so as yo^w may see we are afraide of nothing les [than that] the world should be ignorant what mark we shoote at.

Edinb. Aug. 16, 1584.

“ On thursday p^lclam^{on} was made here that all ministers should giue vpp the rentalls of their benefices into the exchequer to th^e end that none hereafter receave any p^litt of their livings but such only as shall submit themselves and subscribe to their new framed pollicy. Mr. Andrew Hay who wth diuers others hath absolutely refused yt is cōmaunded to dep^t the country wthin xx dayes wth speciall inhibition not to repayre into Ingland or Ireland whose ayre they hold as contagious and for the same cause the vniversity of Glascow is by the Bishoppes diligence made vtterly vacant the colledge was lockt vpp, the students dismissed, & the Regents and Mⁿ commytted, the lyk curteaie being exercised towards them of St. Andrewes and Abir-deene as if theis bishoppes thought their glory and surety to stand in bringing in ignorance and confusion into the schooles & by the same degrees corruption & Atheisme into the church wherein their lab^r hath great appearance of effect, if this course be longe continewd.

The B. of St. Andrewes hath addressed one Mr. Archibald Harbithoune into England aswell to call home some of his countrymen wth vs & of his own humor to occupy the roomes of honeste men as for some other purposes with the fr. ambassador.—There is little appearance that the Bishoppes here can longer brooke their newe empyre wth quiet either in respect to th^r cause or th^r p^lsons w^{ch} are gnēally condemned. At St. Andrewes there was the last week an alarm given to the Bishopp by certain of the students remayning there & others to the number of xx or xxx p^lsons euery man with his harquebus who bestowed the most p^lt of the night in shooting against the wyn-dowes both of the Castell where the B. laye and of his house in the towne leaving a testimony behind them of their good meaning towards him. On the morrow the Bishopp thinking to haue gotten tryall of this fact caused the few students of the colledge w^{ch} were

remaning to be conveened in the public schooles making very diligent inquidicon of the former nights disorder but found nothing save that such as were suspect and examined though they denyed their presence confessed they wished the Bishopp so well as it was not so schender a revenge as that could satisfie them for the publique hurt he had done, and willed him to remember how fatall that sea had been to his predecessours & to looke for no better.

No. VI. [Orig. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 34.]

Extract of a Letter from Mr. D. Andersone to certain Ministers in Scotland, conveying information respecting Scotch Papists in Germany.

From Auspurg in high Almanie the 27 of April 1596.

Right worshipfull and deare bretheren in Christ—I foreseeing the storme imminent and hearing of the pernicious intentions of the enemies, haue not desisted till I came to the knowledge, (yf not of all) yet of the most part of ther intentions actions & purposes, by using the help of good Christians, abhorrers of idolatrie, men secrete, faythfull and prudent. At Rome Tirie the Jesuit, and Archibald Hamilton the apostat with great instance and manifold supplications have solicited the pope Clement the 8, and College of Cardinals to erect a Seminarie ther for the education in Romish impietie of such younglins, as by their direction doe come from Scotland; who afterwards being made masse priests and Jesuits may be sent into Scotland for the propagation of popish religion with the ruine of the present estate of that realme: but nothing as yet is determined; notwithstanding they are in hope that ther petition shall take effect, seeing Gregorie the 13 builded three seminaries in Rome for strangers, one for the English, another for the Dutche, and the third for the Mauretanians or Africanes: but the matter is not so hottlie prosecuted now as it was before, by reason of Hamiltons death, who departed at Rome the 30 of Januarie 1596. Leslie bishop of Rosse, John Hamilton popish priest and Ligueur; William Chrichton and James Gordon Jesuits, who remayne most commonlie in Brusels (except Gordon, who is most commonlie with Huntlie, and Arole, either at Leids with the bishop of Colen, or at Namur in the companie of Spaniards) are verie busie with Albert Cardinall of Austria, presentlie

Lieutenant for the Spanish King in the Netherlands, for obtaining of sum aide to assist Huntlie and Arole with their complices in Scotland for the extermination of all the professors of the true reformed religion in that realme; I heare that Walter Lyndesay for the furtherance of ther matters is sent unto the King of Spaine; but I hope in God, that they shall come short of ther expectations; seeing the Spaniard hath more yrnies in the fyre than he can well handle, and more mightie princes in Christendome justlie his enemies, than he with all his forces is able to resist. The Spanish concile also taxeth the foresaid Earles of the breach of ther promise, who in the yere 1592, (when the Spaniard concluded to aid the papists in Scotland with 20000 men) after the recete of great summes of Spanish gold, not only then but at diverse other tymes, oblied themselves to take armes with all possible diligence agaynst all those of the reformed religion in Scotland, and also to advance the King of Spayns practizes not only ther, but also in England and Ireland, to the uttermost of ther power; which nevertheless according to promise they have not performed. But they to excuse themselves, first alledge the reveling of ther intentions, secondlie that Robert Bruce (a principal trafficker in those treasonable affayres) delivered not those summes of money unto them which were promised, partlie for the hyring of soul-diours; and partlie for the gratifying of gentlemen Romish Catholikes, and Clannes, to make them the more prompt and courageous in the Spanish service: for which cause Brusse is straitlie imprisoned; and sharply accused by the forenamed Earles. In high Germanie the Scottish Papists have some abbayes præsently in possession; as at Reusburgh in Bavaria, the abbots name is James Whyte borne neere aberdene: the prior is called James Winniet (Ninian Winniets nephew Whits prædecessour); monkes ther, Lesslie cosin to Lesalie the bishop; Darnpull; James Bog, John Bogs sone one of his majesties porters; two novices are gone from thence to Rome, the one his name is Wddard borne in Edinburgh, he studied in prage with the Jesuits: the other is one Lermonth borne neere Sanctandrose the laird of Darsies brother sone. Ther is also another popish priest sent to Rome by the Scottish abbots as I suppose, to obtaine a license of the pope that some of them may return into Scotland, to traffick ther with the papists and to bring some number of young boyes with them into Germanie (but more hereafter of this purpose.) The popish priest that is sent to Rome is called Adame Sympeon borne in Edinburgh, he was long a servant in Newbattle, afterward in france he served Archibald Hamilton the apostat, and from him

he went with the Earle of Westmerland into Spaine; lastlie he served George Carr, Trafficker for the Spaniards in Scotland. In the yeare of God 1594 and 1595 he said masse sometyms in the Lord Herise hous; sometyms in Arols hous, and in the young lord of Bonitons hous called Wodd: he came last out of Scotland in the companie of Huntlie; he is a verie craftie, cruel, and pestiferous papist, but unlearned. The second Scottish abbey in Germanie is at Wirtzburg in Frankland; the abbot ther is Richard Wrwin borne about Dumfrisse, he was sometyms servant to the old Lord Herise, and attended at Santandrosse in the old college on his sone Edward Maxwell now abbot of Dundrennen and lard of Lamsington; he was sent from Parise by the popiah bishop of Glasgow to Winiet abbot of Reusburg, and ther made a monke; he is a drunken, ignorant, subtile and malicious fellow. The prior at Wirtzburg is called frances Hamilton of the hous of Stanhouse, as he sayeth, but I rather thinke that he is one of the Hamiltons of Santandrosse; he was sometyms at pont mison in Loraine, and afterwards studied under the Jesuits at Wirtzburg and Reusburg; ther is not a more blasphemous cruel and vtragious enemie against the gospel of Christ of our nation then this Hamilton; but withall a proud unlearned bodie: The third Scottishman at Wirtzburg his name is John Stuard borne about Glasgow a boy of 18 years of age; more monkes Scottishmen they have not, because none of our nation that feareth God will enter into so infamous and idolatrous a societie. The third Scottish abbey is at Erfurd in the land of Thuringia, the abbots name is John Walker, borne I thinke about Disert in Fyfe; he is all alone for want of Scottish papists. The Scottish papists of the foresaid places have had a meeting at Wirtzburg the 19 of April 1596 according to the direction of the pops legat in Germanie, and the bishop of Wirtzburg, called Julius Extar (one of the greatest enemies that the gospel of our Saviour hath in Germanie) for the electing of some of these Scottish papists to send into Scotland this yeare, and that for two causes cheiflie; first, that they may learne the whole state and condition of the countrey, and consult with the papists ther, what is to be done for the subversion of the present state of religion in Scotland; secondlie to make a choice of childrene between the age of 12 and 18 years to be brought into Germanie, partlie for the furnishing of their abbays, not only which presentlie they possesse, but also of those places which they are in hope to obtaine at the pops and Emperours hands; the abbayes are there, one in Vienna, two at Colen, one at Newstat, one at Ments, and another at Wormes; and partlie that

these younglings may be educated with the Jesuits to be sent afterwards into Scotland for the effecting of ther purposes: the bishop of Wirtzburg hath promised to maintain at his charges threescore of these yong boyes, the Bishop of Saltsburg fortie, and the bishop of Reusburg twentie till they be able to be made masse priests, Jesuits or monkes: It is thought that either Wrwin or Hamilton shall be sent this summer into Scotland for that purpose. The lard of Lethington called Metalen departed from the Earles at Lieds about the 20 of August 1595 towards Rome, in all his journey he had long and serious conferences with the Jesuits: Gordon and Crichton Scots Jesuits and one called Holt an English Jesuit gave him letters of recommendation to all those places, as also a direction to receive of the Jesuits at everie neede three hundreth crownes for the better expedition of his affaires: what letters he had to the pope, college of Cardinals or the Spanish Ambassadour at Rome, either from enemies at home or abroad I know not: your wisdomes may judge that his going so long and tedious a journey was not for small trifles. Whiles he remayned in Scotland in the Lord Herises his father in laws house he had great intelligence with many popish priests both English and Scottish but namely with one Sicill an English priest that lurketh most commonlie in the Lord Herises hous or in the borders not farr from thence: they use commonlie the help of a poore craftie knave, unsuspected of any man because of his outward simplicitie, in carying and recarying of letters between the papists of England and Scotland whose surname is Horsburgh, he hanteth in Dumfriess and those quarters. Places most dangerous in Scotland are the Southwest and Northeast where Gods, the kings, and whole realms enemies are received, harboured and interteyned. In Scotland presentlie (yf they be not of late departed out of the land) there are Jesuits, Mackwhinry, Mirton, Abercromie and ane Murdoch, spies for the Spaniard, and notorious traiters to God, his church, the kings majestie, and the whole land. There is also in Germanie one named Archibald Anderson who is my half brother by the flesh a professor of the Greke tongue in the Jesuits Colledge at Grats in the countrey of Stiria, whom I sought to reduce from that papisticall bondage; but he knowing of my coming to Cramaw in Bohemia where then he remayned was suddenlie transported from thence by the Jesuits to Vienna.—

No. VII. [Orig. in Bibl. Jurid. M. 6. 9. num. 32.]

Letter from John, Earl of Gowrie.*

To my beloved brother M. Jhone Malcome Minister
at Perth.

Ἐυλογητον εἶπω το ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς αἰῶνα.

Beloved brother

Having taken occasione to wret to Scotland wald not omitt my dentie to you in visiting you with this lètter, that therby ye myt vnderstand of my present estate quhilk continues as of before, praising God from my hairt that of the riche abundance of his gude grace and mēre mercie hes maid the beames and licht of his countenance to shine vpon me most fauorably to be ane guide to conduct me saiffle *per hunc Avernum* quherin mony here (*quorum oculi densa caligine et nebulis obscurati sunt*) *ô miserum spectaculum!* are drowned in his justice. I meane not all, *absit*; for I am acquainted with diuers heir *qui etiam inter has paludes stigas* hes neuer boued ther kne to Baal: quhat ane maruell is this and quha can beleue it; and yet it is certainly true, *glorificetur igitur Deus in opibus suis ac eo magis quo sunt mirabiliora et* *κατα την φύσιν*. There was ane notable exemple of constancie not long ago in ane Silesian minister of some threescore yeares and mair quha efter he hes beine detained in prisone about nyne yeares and the Jesuites had trauailed with him to recant bot persaiiffing that thei could preuaile nothing at his handis caused bring him to the fyre lyke bludie dogges quhere efter he had maid ane excellent discours and harang to the people shauing them the grat honor he was callit to in suffering for Christis sake and exhorting them to conuersione abode most patientlie without ony shrinking all tormentis magnifeing Godis holy name and praying that ther sinnes myt be forgiuen them. Efter he wes bront not being yet satisfied of the crueltie that thei had usit against him quhen he wes liuing did cast ane gret heap of stones vpon his ashes *multo sauiiores quam orant Judæi adversus Stephanum*. Ther were vtheris quha for feare of death ett that same tyme maid filthie apostacie fra the true Religione to that damnable Idolatrie and at that instant that ane of them begane to deny Christ in making defectione there issued blude out of

* This is the nobleman who is so well known, in consequence of his name having been given to that much contested and dark affair—the Gowrie Conspiracy.

his nose in suche gret abundance that all did see him thout he sould haue dyed presentlie this wes ane visibill signe of the hand of God that chopped on him quha hed done suche ane villanie aganist his conscience for to purchase his owen lyffe quhilk he wes not worthee to bruik by the loss of his soule. Bot these renegates not the les escaped not ther awin punishment for they all were send *ad triremes, ubi non unius horæ spatio vitam finituri sed morientes semper nec tamen morientur*. Laitlie efter these thingis ane certane Inglishe man being moved on zeile to cast ther *sacra hostia* (as thei most falslie callis it) out of the priestis handis that wes careing it in processione to the grund, and to stramp on it with his fete wes apprehendit and denudit of his clothes thereafter ane hude putt on his heade quheron wes painted the deuilis image and some with bleasis quha brunt him continually in the backe and brest as he walked fordwart bot he in the meane tyme wes occupiet in shauing the people hou thei were schamfullie abused be there miscent Iddolers quha wer leading them to there auin damnatione. In end he spake with suche ane vehemencie that the enymies caused knett his toung fearing some uprore to enseu if he had gottin ony forder libertie to speke so he wes brot to the place of executione quhere lifting vp his eyis to heauen and on his knees kissing the chaine he wes bund with, they caused first cut of his hand for the fact he had committed with it and nixt burne him quicke. All thir thingis were done in Rome that mother of all vyce and hoorishe synagog of deuils. I am sory that my absence will not permitt me to kyth my mynd and gudwill in helping to sett furth Godis glorie ther *cui totus ex animo incumberem* bot quhen at his gude pleasure I retorne sall with his grace indeuore my self to amend quhatsomeuer is omitted for laike of my presence. I thank you most hartfully of your remembrance of me in your prayeris desyring you earnestlie to contineu according to the loue ye cary to the salvatione of my soule. Thus remembering my very loving commendationis to yourself with the hail nybouris of the toune Committis you with them all to the protectione of the Omnipotent.

At Padoua the 28 of Nouember 1595.

Youris alwayis affectionat
GOWRAYE.

I dout not bot ye haue hard long since of the Papes benedictione given to the king of France quhilk hes turned to ane maledictione. No vther neuis occurris heir for the present, bot now againe laitly ther is some Inglishmen put in the hous of inquisitione in Rome.

No. VIII. [Melvini Epistolæ MSS. p. 29.]

Melvinus ad Senatum Anglicanum.

Artaxerxes cognomento memoriosus in veterem Judeorum ecclesiam ab exilio reducem Persarum Monarcha beneficentissimus, Legem de cultu divino et religione moderanda sanxit divinitus in hæc verba: *Quidquid est de sententia Dei cælestis perficitur diligenter in domo Dei cælestis: ut non sit fervens ira in regnum regem et filios ejus.* Hanc ego legem cum similibus sacræ scripturæ locis non negligentissime comparatam, multo antequam Angliam hac vice cogitassem, sæpe mecum et diu multumque pro muneris mihi divinitus mandati ratione, meditatus, tertio abhinc anno, Septembri mense vergente in sæde Hamptoniana jussus sacris interesse, tam spectator quam auditor insolens, pro re nata carmen breve et Dramaticum, Regiæ majestati, invocato numine, recitandum feci. Cujus exemplum inscio me descriptum et depravatum et mutilum postea Novembri præcipite, mihi coram amplissimo senatu criminis loco objectum: et anni insequentis adulto vere denuo exacerbatum fuit. In hac causa dicenda sine fuco et fallaciis more majorum, et meis versicolis a criminis atrocitate cujus affinis non essem libere vindicandis, si quid mihi tam necessario tempore meo, minus decore pro hujus gentis indole et regni moribus respondenti humanitus excidit, quod quemquam mortalium jure offenderit, nedum Senatum amplissimum, ut ejus ego sive erroris sive rusticitatis pœnam biennali carcere adhuc luo: ita veniam supplex primum a Deo patre indulgentissimo, deinde a Britanniarum Rege Clementissimo, denique ab amplissimo Senatus singulari æquanimitate, etiam atque etiam peto.

No. IX. [Orig. in Arch. Eccles. Scotic. vol. xxviii. num. 6.]

Letter from Andrew Melville to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees.

My dewtie humblie remembered Please yo^r w. being prevented by yo^r undeserved kindness, I am emboldened to aske your counsel and good advice at this tyme. I heare that the Duke of Bullon hath requested his Ma. by letters and by my Lord Wotton Ambassadour, in my favour, and that his Ma. is not unwilling to shew me some gra-

cious favour. Therfor I thought it my dewtie to offer my humble service unto the Prince Highnes as a naturall subject. And if bashfulnes wold suffer me to speak the truth, one come of those whome his royell progenitors hath acknowledged not only faithfull servants but also friendly kinsfolk. So that naturall affection should command me reverently to hono^r and faithfully to serve his Ma. and progeny, namely his highnes whome the Lord advanceth to succeed in the royall throne, which is established by two ground pillars Justice and Relligion, whereof the last hath been my calling and exercise these 36 years at the least in my owne native countrie, except so much as England hath broken off the course of my ordinarie traveles. I was transported thirtie yeers ago by the advice & authoritie both of generall Assembly and three estats at his Ma. command from Glasco (where six yeers the Lord had blessed my labours in letters & religion to the comfort of the church & honour of the countrie) unto St. Androis for reforming of the Universitie, and erecting a colledge of Divinitie for the profession of learned tongues & Theologie against the Seminaries of Rems and Rome: wherein I was placed by Commissioners both of Church and Counsell, authorized with his Ma. commission in most solemn manner. And I for my part, in modestie to utter the truth, I dare not say but I have been faithfull in my great weaknes notwithstanding mighty opposition: but these four yeers bypast and more I have been withholden from y^e doing of my dewtie to my countrie and church of God therein, as is notoriously known, to my great regrate. Now Reason and Conscience bind me to this obligation of my calling and discharge of my dewtie, if so it wold please his Ma. And I feare the necessitie of that holy work wold crave help, that the fontaines of Learning and Relligion be not dried up in our barren country. And my old age doth no less crave, if not rest from travel, at the least an honest retreat from warefare within my own garison and coragard, with hope of buriall with my ancestors. In the meanetyme I offer my humble service unto the Prince his highnes, if your w. think it expedient, with the advise of my two intire and speciall friends Sir James Fowlarton and Mr. Thomas Murray, to whom these presents will make my heartie eömendations. So taking my leave I recoömend you S^r to the grace of God till a joyfull meeting at his good pleassour.

Yo^{rs} in y^e Lord to be commandit

AN. MELVINE.

London Tower this first
of December 1610.

No. X. [Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 42.]

Letter from Andrew Melville to Robert Durie at Leyden.

Right reverend and dearly beloved father in the Lord Jesus, your last letter was full of kyndly stuffe, and so was very sweet to me, namely your owne godly and constant resolution, quhareunto *adscribe me socium in utrumque tuum paratum, ad * * * aut manendum, arbitratu nostri.* ἑταίριον καὶ ἀγωνιστὴν. *Tecum ego vivere amem, etiam obeam ego libens.* Receave fra this bearrar, your sone Johne, his oration with thanks, and great hope he shall be a good instrument after our departing. We have heard nothing farther of Scotts or English newes, but only the returning of Mr. Digbie ambassadar from Spaine who be now adjoynd to the secret counsall for his faithfull service. So that we look to hear shortly of the L. Somerset & his la. and vyers their complices. We expect the returning of our duke and prince from Parise this weeke at the farrest, the peace being ratified from the parliament of Parise. From Mr. Johne Forbess neuer a word haue we yet receaved, and so remaine we in suspence: only the ministrie of Flissing as you wrait appears to say sumthing, whereof I gather litle comfort or gracious answer from the monarche, Lord be mercifull to his chosen and faithfull servants, *quibus ubi desinet humanum ibi incipit diuinum auxilium. In uno Christo sunt omnia ad bene beateque viuendum. Ipsa est lux, via, veritas et vita. Ab ipso est Paracletus,* καὶ παρακλησις, καὶ το παρηγοριον της αγαπης. I thank you for Roseus and Godartius. things goes not euill as we haue heard. Bot we cannot bot feare the act from the state to the classes, howbeit we know not as yet the contents thereof. I thank you also for Mr. Robert Bruce that constant confessor and almost martyr of our Lord Jesus. The Lord [keep] him and his for ever. I never remember him and his w'tout comfort and heart lift up to God And so doe I when I remember or hears or speaks of any of you all that suffers for Christ and his church. Faine wold I heare good things from Mr. William Scotte, Mr. Johne Carmichell & Mr. Johne Dykes whom I hope the Lord hath not left destitute of his good spirit, but that they shine as burning lamps in the mids of that confused darkness. Mr. Patrick Symsons triumphes, whose ecclesiastick history I heare be cum furth bot not cum to our hands, *quam ego pretio duplicato redimam.* I cannot tell whats becum of Mr. Jas. Carmichells labours, or whether he be yet aliuie. Mr. Johne Davidsons left sum nots be-

hind of our tyme, and so did Mr. Johnne Jonstoun. I speak nothing of my cousing. I wold all were safe to mak out a true narratioun to the posterity. I left with my lufing and faithful gossep your father in law Mr. Knox's letters. I wish them to be furthcuming. Mak my hartly commendations to him & his, and learne what you can of all. Let the bishops be mowdewarps, we will lay our treasure in the heavins quher they be sure. Fed niche nearer to St. Androis nor Daris is could not [saue] their fed sowe from the grane. My collect, granell and gutte be messengers (bot not importune) to spoyle my patience, bot to exercise my faith. My health is better nor I wold looke for in this age, praised be the true mediator. To whose glory it may serue, to the benefitt of his church. My cummer and all the bairns be locked wp in my heart, whom I recommend with you to the grace of our heavenly Father in the bowels of the Lord Jesus. This in great haist, with commendations to all friends thair.

Thus ut suus,

AN. MELVILL.

Sedani 24 Maij 1616.

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